the weekly
# Standard

JUNE 17, 2002 $3.95

BUSH'S BIG SPEECH
FRED BARNES

**There is a set of facts beneath the scandals now consuming the Catholic church. These facts are self-evident. They plainly outline what everyone wants to ignore. Call it . . .**

# The Elephant in the Sacristy

**by Mary Eberstadt**

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NOVEMBER 17, 2001

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The New York Times

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The Washington Post

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the weekly Standard

THE WEEKLY STANDARD (ISSN 1083-3013) is published weekly (except the second week in January, the fourth week in April, the second week in July, and the fourth week in August) by News America Incorporated, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96153, Washington, DC 20090-6153; changes of address to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Yearly subscriptions, $78.00. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-850-682-7653 for subscription inquiries. Visa/MasterCard payment accepted. Cover price, $3.95. Back issues, $3.95 (includes postage and handling). Send manuscripts and letters to the editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. For a copy of THE WEEKLY STANDARD Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036. THE WEEKLY STANDARD Advertising Sales Office in Washington, DC, is 1-202-293-4900. Advertising Production: Call John L. Mackall 1-202-496-3354. Copyright 2002, News America Incorporated. All rights reserved. No material in THE WEEKLY STANDARD may be reprinted without permission of the copyright owner. THE WEEKLY STANDARD is a trademark of News America Incorporated.

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# Guess Who's Coming to Lunch

We understand, especially after the last couple of weeks, that FBI Director Robert S. Mueller III's job description includes enduring any number of slings and arrows, some more outrageous than others. But he must be even more of a glutton for punishment than we imagined to have agreed to be a luncheon speaker at the American Muslim Council's annual convention on June 28.

The AMC is one of those groups that once upon a time, way back before September 11, expressed sympathy for the 1993 World Trade Center bombers and support for terrorist outfits like Hamas and Hezbollah. But all has changed since last fall, right?

Now the AMC specializes in maligning federal law enforcement officials. An AMC press release characterized the federal raids in March on several businesses in Northern Virginia suspected of aiding terrorist groups as follows: "National Muslim organizations have described the raids as what appears to be 'a fishing expedition by federal authorities' using 'McCarthy-like tactics' in a search for 'evidence of wrongdoing that does not exist.' Brothers and Sisters this is YOUR community that has been attacked."

And here is the AMC's June 3 letter to Attorney General John Ashcroft complaining about the new surveillance policies announced by Ashcroft and Mueller to improve the FBI's ability to gather intelligence on terrorists:

"The announcement last week by the Justice Department of its new policy permitting blanket government spying on any mosque or Muslim organization, however, has raised issues and questions in our community which we feel you must directly address now. For example, we need you to clarify your remark that 'scrupulous respect for civil rights and personal freedom' will be maintained even under this new policy.

"Thus, we request an immediate meeting with you to discuss this issue. We feel that Director Mueller addressing the Muslim community at our convention can serve as a bridge builder—provided there is first a fundamental acknowledgement and protection by the Justice Department of the rights and liberties of Muslim Americans."

So here's the AMC's offer: We will insult you, then you must suck up to us, then we will deign to let you speak to us. THE SCRAPBOOK is glad it doesn't run the FBI. ♦

## McCain's Soft Spot for Soft Money

John McCain, the Arizona Republican, is the world's biggest foe of soft money. Because soft money corrupts politics. Well, not always. When it comes to so-called leadership political action committees—McCain's is called Straight Talk America—they are entitled to raise some soft (unregulated) money.

Why? Because McCain said so on the floor of the Senate when campaign finance reform was being debated this spring. The issue came before the Federal Election Commission last week as it began looking into rules to implement the campaign law enacted after years of effort by McCain. Trevor Potter, a McCain adviser and ex-FEC commissioner, cited McCain's words to justify double fund-raising accounts for leadership PACs. These are PACs run by elected officials that dispense money to other candidates in their party. They can raise $5,000 each election cycle in hard (or regulated) money from donors and, in a separate account, pick up $5,000 in soft money per donor for use in state or local campaigns.

Nifty, huh? McCain says his PAC only raises hard money. And he says Democrats who want their national party to have two accounts, one for hard money, one for soft, are making "an extraordinary leap" from what the new law requires. If he says so. ♦

## What an Alternative

With some notable exceptions—the *New York Press* and *Boston Phoenix* prominent among them—the so-called "alternative weekly" newspapers are most useful when they're crumpled up underneath logs to start a fire.

Many of those who work on such papers, however, take themselves very seriously. Consider the recent activities of the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies, a self-described "diverse group of 121 non-daily free-circulation papers." When the group held its annual convention last weekend in Madison, Wisconsin, the admissions committee voted to accept just one of the 14 new applicants—giving the group an admissions rate that's more competitive than Yale Law School.

The critiques of the papers that didn't make the cut were posted on the AAN website, and several were rejected for legitimate-sounding reasons: bad writing, poor reporting, a too-cozy relationship between the business and editorial sides of the operation. But the critique that caught THE SCRAPBOOK's eye was the rejection of the *Independent Florida Sun*, a weekly published in the Sunshine state's panhandle.

The judges praise the *Sun* as "interesting," possessing "energy and considerable wit throughout." Indeed, it's



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"almost a throwback; IFS reminds me of a late-19th-century muckraking daily, back when publisher/editors wore their hearts on their sleeves." And, "it's refreshing to see at least one of this year's applicants doing something that the alternative press built its reputation on."

Still, the judges recommended against admission: "Generally speaking, Republicans are too constipated to publish alternative papers, which makes this applicant from Florida's Redneck Riviera all the more perplexing. There's some honest journalism here mixed in with a lot of pandering to the military, the religious right, and the Bushes." Come again? "The right-wing church columnist has no place in AAN." Say what? "All the God-and-flag sh— disturbs me."

There were a few substantive comments, too. But the reason the IFS was rejected is clear: too conservative. So who is this crazy right-wing publisher? David Duke? Jerry Falwell? No, it's Joe Scarborough, the Republican who was one of the wittier and well-liked denizens of the cable TV circuit before he retired from Congress last year.

Meanwhile, the AAN board of directors approved a plan to create a foundation to help fund the Academy of Alternative Journalism at Northwestern's prestigious Medill School of Journalism. Executive Director Richard Karpel explained the reason: "Our goal is to increase editorial diversity at AAN papers." Right, Dick. ♦

## Axis of Kushner

Of all the remarks inflicted on graduating college seniors by their commencement speakers this year, none may be as stomach-churning as these from playwright Tony Kushner at Vassar College on May 26. It's not that we have a problem with such inspirational lines as "I hope you are aflame with vision, ambition, and hope." It's the tiresome harangue against the Bushes that made us lose it:

"Evil is always happy to enter, sit down, abolish the Clean Air Act, and the Kyoto accords, and refuse to participate in the World Court or the ban on landmines. Evil is happy refusing funds to American clinics overseas that counsel abortion and evil is happy drilling for oil in Alaska. Evil is happy pinching pennies while 40 million people worldwide suffer and perish from AIDS; and evil will sit there, carefully chewing pretzels and fondly flipping through the scrapbook [no relation to this page, as far as we know] reminiscing about the 131 people he executed when he was governor, while his wife reads Dostoevsky in the corner."

Sounds like maybe Tony wants a job writing editorials for the *New York Times*. ♦

## Correction

Last week we wrote that Sen. Patrick Leahy had requested of Miguel Estrada, a Bush judicial nominee, copies of all memos Estrada had written for his law firm. The request—no less outrageous—was actually for materials Estrada generated when he worked in the solicitor general's office. ♦



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# Casual

## Straight Up

Unlike many of my journalistic colleagues, I've never had much use for junkets. Being flown to an exotic locale on some interest group's dime only to be sequestered in panel discussions on European monetary policy seems a cruel tease. I'd rather do something more fun, like clean my hairbrush or tend to my tapeworm colony.

But when the liquor lobby, aka the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, recently promised a bourbon tour of Kentucky, complete with distillery visits, plentiful tastings, and quaffable care packages, the question wasn't whether I should go but how long I could stay. As an ethical journalist, I have always had an ironclad policy about taking freebies from sources: I won't unless they suit my fancy. Nothing suits my fancy more than drinking other people's whiskey.

From the moment you touch down in Kentucky, you can't forget you're in bourbon country. It's more noticeable even than the gently pitched hills and velveteen hollows. Or was it the velveteen hills and gently pitched hollows? (I didn't notice.) Most airports have Sbarros or California Pizza Kitchens. Louisville's has a Woodford Reserve Bar & Grill, since a real Kentuckian wouldn't think of washing down his Buffalo wings with anything other than a premium small-batch bourbon.

There are 44 bourbons on the menu of the elegant Seelbach Hotel's Oakroom, where Al Capone dined next to secret doorways concealed in the walls, which he used to escape the feds, and perhaps irate waiters when he ordered Scotch. Here, there is not much appetite for drinking anything other than "the water of life," as bourbon translates in its Gaelic antecedent. "I've tried a lot of Scotches, and I don't understand them," says Eddie Russell, Wild Turkey's manager of maturation. "It's like they took good whiskey, and burned it."

Kentuckians, it turns out, don't just take bourbon with their meals. They take it in them. At the Seelbach, rooms come with complimentary bourbon bread mix. And in the Oakroom, if we didn't get enough bourbon in our warm-up Maker's Marks, we made up for lost time with our Old Forester-marinated spoonfish, our Knob Creek Crème Fraîche, our Russell's Reserve bourbon cream Caesar salad, and our sourmash bourbon biscuits topped with bourbon-marinated berries. Then there were after-dinner drinks in the Seelbach's bar. The bar is ranked 44th in the world by the London *Independent* and I can see why. It has many of my favorite things—chairs, and lots of free bourbon.

As my sources, or rather, my patrons, would wish me to point out, it is not the Distilled Spirits Council's fault that I got a little too close to the story. Ever since Prohibition, the chastened industry has been prattling on about responsible drinking, so much so that when I encounter one of their flacks, I'm not certain if I'm supposed to interview him, or hand him my car keys.

But selling print journalists on the salutary effects of distilled spirits (which have been shown to cut heart disease and diabetes) is about as difficult as selling fat girls on the glories of Edy's ice cream. After a tough day of drinking our way across bluegrass country, from the Jim Beam to Maker's Mark distilleries, we left work behind in Bardstown's Bourbon Bar. There our jovial British colleague Gary Regan, who wrote the book on bourbon (titled simply *The Book of Bourbon*), jumped behind the bar to fix us up with bourbon sidecars and Manhattans. As we debated just how many of KFC's 11 secret herbs and spices one needs to name to become a Kentucky colonel, Gary jigged his way through a spirited round of "O'Reilly's Daughter," the lyrics of which contain lots of mature themes and adult language.

Surrounded by so many professional mixology writers (I'd been invited, I was told, to cover the "policy angle," though I never quite found it), I was a bit intimidated at the tastings. I think I gave away my amateur status when I suggested that a $200-a-bottle Distiller's Masterpiece had a nice peonies nose, with subtle hints of Jovan Musk and a finish longer than Alan Keyes's fingers. But I have always subscribed to Walker Percy's bourbon-drinking aesthetic, namely, that bourbon should be used "to warm the heart, to reduce the anomie of the late twentieth century, to cut the cold phlegm of Wednesday afternoons." In other words, drinking it is infinitely preferable to talking about it.

My boss Fred Barnes likes to say that the most dread words in journalism are "first in a series." But with similar Distilled Spirits Council junkets scheduled to explore Scotland's Scotches, France's cognacs, and the rums of the Caribbean, an exception is surely in order. If I work the story hard enough, who knows? I might be due one final junket, this one to the Betty Ford Center.

**Matt Labash**



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The Department of Defense effort to kill Crusader was in the middle of the budget cycle without analysis of the alternatives. Killing Crusader won't save any money and there are no viable replacements for it on the horizon.

Our soldiers lack artillery firepower today and Crusader will be a reality in the very near future. Do we really want to gamble with ideas that are still on the drawing board?

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## Beers on Beers

Stephen F. Hayes's "Uncle Sam's Makeover" (June 3) correctly identifies the vital importance of communicating America's values and policies to the Muslim world, but Hayes describes the public diplomacy programs that I direct at the State Department only partially. The important readership of The Weekly Standard deserves a broader view.

First, the matter of CAIR—the Council on American-Islamic Relations on which Hayes dwells at great length. Given the importance Hayes ascribes to this link on our website, readers might be surprised to learn that it has been only one of 11 links to non-governmental organizations on the State Department's "Muslim Life in America" website. These links have been provided only as information resources, and there is no endorsement by the State Department of their content.

Hayes's larger point seems to be that our public diplomacy campaign in the war against terrorism fails to distinguish between "good Muslims and bad." This oversimplifies the task at hand. A spectrum of attitudes exists within the Muslim world. A small minority actively supports a resort to acts of terrorism. A somewhat larger group actively rejects such acts. But the majority is somewhere in the middle.

Attitudes do matter. Polls and surveys demonstrate conclusively that negative stereotypes, disinformation, and outright demonization of the United States and the West are widespread in the Arab and Muslim worlds and can provide an environment in which large numbers of people—in effect, enablers—ignore, excuse, or justify acts of terrorism. Images have consequences; words can kill; and we would be derelict if we did not engage those who hold such negative views, however antithetical to our own.

Recognizing this challenge, why would we devote our limited public diplomacy resources to engaging exclusively with those already in basic agreement with our values and views? At the other extreme, terrorists and their hosts are properly the purview of military, intelligence, and law enforcement action. We, as practitioners of public diplomacy, must engage those between these extremes—the wider community of individuals and organizations who aspire to a better life but are ambivalent regarding acts of terrorism. We need to do this to establish a common foundation of values—not only to remove sympathy and support for such acts, but to articulate a shared vision of a future built on opportunity and freedom, not on grievance and death.

Hayes concludes his article by citing a recent speech by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, in which he called on us to speak to the millions of Muslims who aspire to "freedom and democracy and free enterprise." I couldn't agree more, and we at the State

Department are developing programs that will engage such individuals and groups as partners and interlocutors to help explain the power and purpose of the United States in the world today. These programs will include arrangements at Middle East universities and other institutions to provide multimedia access to information on the United States, our society and values, as well as an expansion of exchange programs to enrich and deepen the dialogue among Americans and Muslims abroad. And, when appropriate, we'll use posters, pamphlets, and public-service advertising.

Where America is defined as godless, militaristic, anti-Islamic, and uncaring about families and foreign cultures, then, yes, I would say that a re-presentation, or reintroduction, of America and American values is in order. If we don't do this, make no mistake: There are plenty of others around the world—indifferent or hostile to us and what we stand for—who are ready to step in and "define"America to Muslim audiences.

Charlotte Beers
*Under Secretary of State*
*Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs*
*Washington, DC*

## Our Canadian Friends

Lionel Chetwynd's "Dulce et Decorum Est" (June 3) was the best article I've seen that explains the U.S.-Canada relationship, but I have a different read on Americans' muted reaction to the deaths of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry's Sgt. Marc Leger, Cpl. Ainsworth Dyer, Pvt. Richard A. Green, and Pvt. Nathan Smith.

These were deaths in the family, and the "general silence" Chetwynd writes of is proof of the bond. The Canadians know how we feel and we know how they feel. Instead of obligatory ululation, we reacted with the private tears and prayers we reserve for our own.

Jeff Dennis
*Sacramento, CA*

One can admire the contributions of Canadian troops on D-Day and still be puzzled by Lionel Chetwynd's critique of American reaction to the loss of four Canadian soldiers to friendly fire in Afghanistan. Contrary to Chetwynd's implication, Canada did not go to war in World War II to protect American interests, and it fought in Korea under the banner of the United Nations, consistent with a long postwar policy Chetwynd seems to feel developed only after Korea.

Canada's contributions to victory in World War II were noteworthy, but Chetwynd's whole point appears to be based on the higher percentage of Canadian to American troops mobilized during the war, compared to total populations. This analysis is superficial to say the least, for it does not take into account America's Pacific effort, the Manhattan Project, or the enormous industrial and logistic contributions of the United



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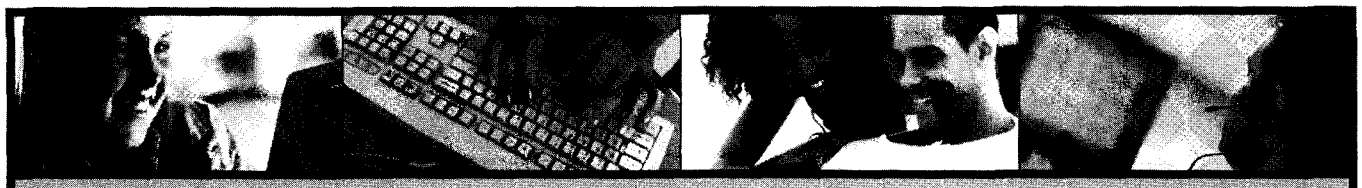

# ART & COMMERCE IN THE DIGITAL DECADE

The brief but dramatic history of Napster and other file-sharing services underscores an important legal and policy challenge posed by the Internet: how to protect intellectual property in the digital age.

At stake is the continued growth of the digital economy. Copyright holders—authors, musicians, filmmakers, software developers and others—will be able to take full advantage of the Internet as a powerful distribution channel only if their creations are appropriately protected.

The recording industry and movie studios, understandably concerned about the implications of file sharing, have been pressing Congress to act. A bill now before the U.S. Senate could result in the government selecting a specific anti-piracy technology and mandating its use in personal computers and other digital devices.

***To grow the new economy, protect digital rights.***

Piracy is deeply troubling, and the government clearly has an important role in the fight against it. But a government-mandated standard could actually hinder anti-piracy efforts by stifling technical innovation.

As creators of the first digital media, software companies have long understood the value of intellectual property and the need to protect it. Microsoft and others in our industry have invested significantly in building anti-piracy safeguards into software products, yet even today, software piracy drains an estimated $12 billion each year from the economy and from thousands of businesses large and small.

Anti-piracy measures are self-defeating if, in tightening security, they impair technology's usefulness or burden users. And even the best security is breakable. It must be improved continuously to stay ahead of hackers.

In fact, the technology industry is continually devising, testing and distributing innovative security solutions to protect all forms of intellectual property. Microsoft has pioneered important advances with our rights-management software for digital media and eBooks. Microsoft is also working with other leaders in the technology, entertainment and consumer electronics fields to develop new security capabilities through organizations such as the Copy Protection Technology Working Group.

These cooperative efforts are making vital progress. For instance, critical standards for interoperability—the means for different digital rights management systems to work together—have recently been specified by the Moving Pictures Expert Group.

Meanwhile, some ideas advanced by the entertainment industry could have unintended consequences. One concept would require computers and other devices to inspect every bit of incoming content—every file, every e-mail—for digital "watermarks" that indicate copyrighted material. Potentially an invasion of users' privacy, this measure would also slow the processing of data communications.

A more effective solution would be for entertainment companies to invest in digital distribution. Few companies have made much content available online, yet the popularity of file sharing among music fans suggests that the market is large. Making legitimate content available easily and affordably would help to counter the illegal supply.

Some file swappers may be ill-informed about what constitutes a copyright violation and why it hurts the very artists whose work they enjoy. Industry-sponsored public education would help curb theft that, on the surface, might seem harmless.

The discussion of how best to protect digital content should not pit one set of copyright holders against another. We all share the same long-term interests in finding digital rights solutions that both protect intellectual property and work easily and flexibly for consumers.

Microsoft is committed to continuing the dialogue and to working constructively with all stakeholders. Our collective progress will benefit everyone—consumers most of all.

*One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.*

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States to its far-flung forces and allies, all which were as necessary to victory as putting more soldiers in uniform.

Although Chetwynd decries the level of coverage in the American press of the Canadian losses in Afghanistan, that press is in general very much in sync with Canada's U.N.-oriented foreign policy. Indeed, the dean of the "bash America" press is Canadian-born Peter Jennings.

That the Canadian loss merited limited coverage in America is hard to dispute. In my opinion, the overall American reaction to the soldiers' deaths has been appropriate, as its strength has been based on Canada's losses in the war on terrorism compared to those of the United States.

JONATHAN F. KEILER
*Bowie, MD*

## GUNS, PLANES DON'T MIX

I AM A FORMER World War II U.S. army pilot and a former FBI agent, so I know something about airplanes and something about handguns. The two do not mix.

Fred Barnes's June 3 editorial "Arm the Pilots and Profile the Passengers," which passionately argues that arming pilots "is such a simple solution to airline hijacking," shows that Barnes has no expertise with either planes or firearms.

Think of it this way: First, when the pilot emerges from his cockpit waving a handgun, he has about one second—maybe two—before he's dead. Why? Because the terrorist who has incited his armed emergence is going to kill him, because that's why he's there. Second, 30,000 feet high is the wrong place to start a gun battle. And no one should believe Boeing when it says that several rounds through the fuselage won't bring the plane down at that altitude. The terrorist who has gotten on board with a semiautomatic weapon can spray enough rounds to burst the side of the plane and suck the nearest passenger, his carry-on, and his seat out the hole. Then down goes the plane.

Third, Barnes and others claim that the large number of ex-servicemen among pilots means they "are trained in firearm use." That is not always true. In the service I spent about three hours on a firing range and most of that was shooting skeet to learn how to "lead" an enemy fighter. I don't know an M-1 from an AK-47 and neither does any other pilot. And no pilot will get the firearm training I got as an FBI agent. Pilot training procedures would have to be altered significantly in order to turn pilots into accurate gunmen.

The place to begin preventing airline hijackings is on the ground, at the airports. Currently, we cannot even keep terrorists off airplanes—even the ones who pack bombs in their shoes. Barnes claims it would be "extravagantly expensive" to put an air marshal on every flight. Would that be more expensive—or more wrenching—than having a 100-plus story tower on Manhattan's waterfront brought to the ground?

I flew round-trip to Florida last week and asked each Delta Airlines pilot after landing coming and going if they thought pilots should be armed. Each pilot answered with an abrupt "No." We should be careful generalizing too much from polls that say pilots favor such a move.

L.S. DABNEY
*Chestnut Hill, MA*

## GREAT SCOTT

AS SOMEONE UNDER THE AGE OF FORTY who loves westerns, Randolph Scott, and Sam Peckinpah, I enjoyed Terry Teachout's essay on the films of Randolph Scott ("Horse Opera," June 3). Teachout is right—it is unfortunate that so many of Scott's B westerns are unavailable on videocassette. But after I finished the article, it dawned on me that Teachout missed a wonderful opportunity to expose movie enthusiasts to a truly great film, *Ride the High Country* (1962).

*Ride the High Country* is a great western, a great Scott film, and a Peckinpah masterpiece. It is also available on videocassette. Even if it was Scott's last film and maybe the start of the "adult" western, I find it impossible not to appreciate this classic. The actors' performances and the full-color beauty of the photography are unbeatable. Scott went out in style, magnificent style!

MICHAEL FROST
*Glenwood, IA*

## THE INHUMANE U.N.

ARNOLD BEICHMAN decries the hypocrisy of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, whose newest member is Zimbabwe, and urges that the United States be prepared to go it alone ("Don't Appease the United Nations," May 20).

In *A Dangerous Place*, Daniel Patrick Moynihan's memoir of his service as ambassador to the United Nations, Moynihan writes of similar challenges, which he met by using the institutions of the U.N., specifically its forum for raising and debating issues.

A modest proposal along the lines of Moynihan's: Before jockeying begins for next year's elections, the United States should announce its belief that members of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights should be held to the highest standards. Second, the United States should propose that an annual report on each member of the commission be presented and discussed at a commission meeting. Of course the proposal will be voted down each time it is raised, so third, the United States must prepare its own reports and raise one or two at each meeting of the human rights commission and propose an investigation. Again each will be voted down, but not without cost to the nation whose policies are thus exposed, and to the credibility of the commission itself.

Such a game plan would force the commission to be true to its principles and might just deter nations like Zimbabwe from seeking membership in the first place.

It's worth a try.

RICHARD A. DERHAM
*Seattle, WA*

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the weekly Standard

# The Specter of Terrorism

*"Our biggest problem is we have people we think are terrorists. They are supporters of al Qaeda. . . . They may have sworn jihad, they may be here in the United States legitimately, and they have committed no crime. And what do we do for the next five years? Do we surveil them? Some action has to be taken."*

—FBI Director Robert Mueller, quoted in the *Washington Post*, June 6

*"You are quoted here as saying, 'Our biggest problem is we have people we think are terrorists. They are supporters of al Qaeda'—and you're keeping them under surveillance. I'm troubled by this. . . . [I]t's troublesome to have surveillance unless there's a really good reason for doing so."*

—Sen. Arlen Specter, questioning Mueller at an oversight hearing the same day

So Arlen Specter, our four-term, senior senator from Pennsylvania, thinks foreigners visiting the United States shouldn't be kept under surveillance unless there's a "really good reason" for it, and thus is "troubled" to learn that the FBI is now tailing people on the flimsiest of pretexts—like that they're "supporters of al Qaeda" who have "sworn jihad" and the Bureau thinks they're "terrorists."

We are troubled, too. We are troubled by Sen. Specter's assertion that he is troubled. And not just because the specific worry he raises here is altogether bizarre—though it is certainly that. More "troublesome" still is the fact that Sen. Specter's expression of concern for the civil liberties of visiting Islamic jihadist terror suspects is actually quite typical of the current debate about America's near-term homeland defense requirements.

In this respect: Three thousand people are dead, the movement that killed them fully intends to do it again, and the president and his Justice Department have proposed or undertaken myriad steps to deter such a renewed attack. We need to be sure those steps are proper ones. Which means we need to discuss them intelligently and thoroughly. And yet, time and again, whether the particular initiative or reform at issue is truly fraught with significance or plainly a no-brainer, a huge chunk of otherwise articulate America has proved itself unwilling or unable to engage the conversation on grownup terms. Instead, we get such as Arlen Specter's upside-down Martin Niemöller routine: *First they came for Osama bin Laden's second-strike foot soldiers, and I said nothing.*

This is fatuous and it will not do. There are other, vastly more important and productive questions to be asked about the post-September 11 performance of George W. Bush's executive branch than "Does this mean we're living in a police state?" It should little relieve us that the correct answer is no, after all; we have a right to expect as much, at minimum. We also have a right to be disgusted that so many purportedly serious voices in our politics have repeatedly granted themselves leave to suggest the answer might be *yes*—and have thereby gone AWOL from their duty to make a substantive contribution to democratic deliberations about a national emergency. The president and his aides do not have a monopoly on wisdom about how best to prevent the next World Trade Center atrocity. They need—and should want—some real, detailed criticism of their ideas. They are manifestly not receiving it.

Last week Attorney General Ashcroft announced that the Immigration and Naturalization Service would soon implement a formal registration system for temporary foreign visitors traveling to America on passports issued by certain Middle Eastern countries known to export terrorism. Registrants will be fingerprinted and photographed at ports of entry, and required to notify the INS of any change of address they might make while here. Theoretically at least, it's a perfectly sensible, legally uncomplicated program that hardly represents a dramatic break with past practice. In fact, the INS is supposed to be registering all non-citizens this way already—according to a law first enacted in 1952 and routinely enforced without controversy until the mid-1980s, when the Service decided it could no longer handle the logistical burden and quietly gave up tracking people visiting on temporary visas. Really, now: Why should permanent U.S. residents carrying green cards be forced to register with the INS, as still they are, when the likes of Zacarias Moussaoui and Richard Reid are not?

On the other hand, Ashcroft's new system won't actual-



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ly capture the likes of Moussaoui and Reid, who came here on French and British passports, not on Middle Eastern ones. So maybe the plan, which promises to be an administrative nightmare in any case, should be targeted somewhat differently? This is the kind of question that fairly begs for extended and exhaustive public analysis. But no, reaction has been of a different character entirely. The ubiquitous James Zogby of the Arab American Institute: "The message it sends is that we're becoming like the Soviet Union, with people registering at police stations." Ameena Jandali of the Islamic Networks Group, with a grotesquely inappropriate Holocaust analogy heard round the world: "What's going to be next? Are all Muslims going to have to wear a yellow or green crescent or something?" Sen. Dick Durbin of Illinois: "It's going to reach a tipping point if we're not careful . . . and end up sacrificing many of the values of our country."

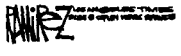
You'd think, with a war on and all, that these people would try just a little bit harder to sound smarter than the average college sophomore at a campus sit-in, wouldn't you? You'd think, for example, when the Justice Department releases a 24-page, single-spaced revision of its guidelines for FBI terrorism investigators, that a person would want to *read* the damn thing before ventilating about it to the newspapers. But you'd be wrong.

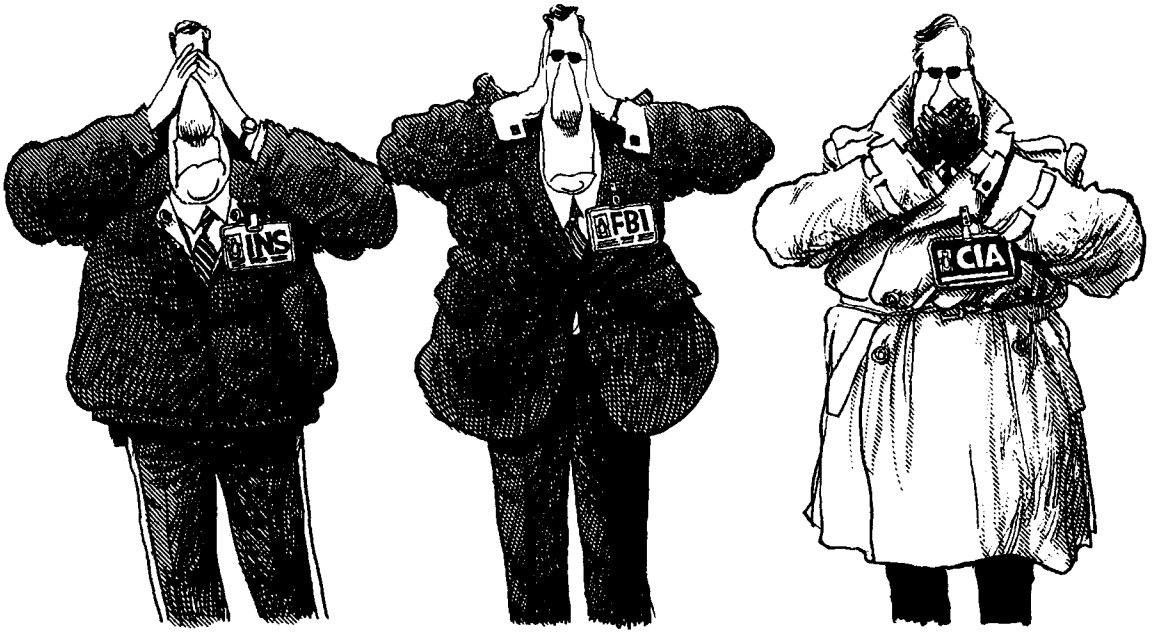
The ACLU says that under the new guidelines, "Any time you write a check, use a credit card, buy something on credit, make department store purchases, surf the web, use an E-Z pass to buy gasoline, or pay a toll, the FBI may be permitted . . . to purchase this information to build a profile on you." What the ACLU says is false—unless, perhaps, the FBI has demonstrable reason to believe that "you" are someone who plans to fly a jetliner into the side of a skyscraper. The *New York Times* editorial page reports that federal agents have now been given "unbridled power" to, for example, "show up at the doors of people who order politically unpopular books on Amazon.com." Which is similarly false. Rep. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, warns that the Justice Department is preparing to "throw respect for civil liberties into the trash heap" and return to "the bad old days when the FBI was spying on people like Martin Luther King." Also false.

Here again, of course, exactly how, to what extent, and with what authority the Bureau should conduct its domestic terrorism investigations seems to us a legitimate and wide open question that could not help but profit from rigorous national debate. But the Bush administration is so far conducting that debate pretty much all by itself—while the rest of the world plays imaginary French resistance to an equally imaginary Justice Department gestapo.

Somewhere in the vast expanse of reality between the president's domestic security proposals and the hysterical juvenilia those proposals have occasioned lies the best possible solution to the terrorism crisis this country now faces. Surely we can't afford to overlook that solution. Shouldn't someone be looking for it?

*—David Tell, for the Editors*






Michael Ramirez



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# FOR SHAME!

## U.S. State Department Whitewashes Yasir Arafat's Bloody Hands

In May 2002, the U.S. State Department issued two reports on terrorism in the Middle East and around the world.
Both reports whitewash the overwhelming evidence that Yasir Arafat has been the leader of the ongoing Palestinian Arab terrorist campaign.
This whitewash undermines President Bush's declared policy of zero tolerance for terrorism.

### Whitewashing Arafat's Role in Murdering Jews:

The State Department reports note that "elements with varying degrees of affiliation" with Arafat-controlled groups committed "acts of violence," but the reports then assert: "There is no conclusive evidence that these elements acted with the prior approval and encouragement of the PLO and PA leaderships." Incredibly, the reports ignore the truckloads of evidence found by Israel in Palestinian Authority (PA) offices in April 2002, including numerous documents signed by Arafat, in which he orders terrorism and pays individual terrorists.

### Whitewashing Arafat's Words of War:

The State Department reports ignore the culture of anti-Jewish hatred and violence in Arafat's school textbooks, summer camps, and sermons by Arafat's clergy. The reports quote Arafat claiming to want peace, but do not quote any of Arafat's speeches calling for jihad (Islamic holy war); urging "one million martyrs to march to Jerusalem"; and assuring Arab audiences that he adheres to the PLO's 1974 strategy of destroying Israel in phases.

### Whitewashing Arafat's Promotion of Terror:

The State Department reports ignore the fact that Arafat and his aides praise terrorists as "heroes" and "martyrs." Arafat's regime provides financial rewards to the families of terrorists, and it also channels Iraqi and Saudi payments of over $30,000 to each family of a suicide bomber. And streets and parks in Arafat's territory are named after prominent terrorists.

### Whitewashing Arafat's Terror Gangs:

The State Department reports ac- knowledge that much of the terrorism has been carried out by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and the Tanzim, but it refuses to admit that these groups are part and parcel of Arafat's own Fatah group-even though Al Aqsa leader Maslama Thabet has said, "Our group is an integral part of Fatah" and "it is following the orders of Yasser Arafat"; and Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti has said the Tanzim "are part of the Fatah organization."

### Whitewashing Arafat's Ship of Terror:

The State Department reports refer to the Israeli capture, in January 2002, of the Karine-A, the PA's Ship of Terror carrying 50 tons of Iranian weapons bound for the PA. Yet they refuse to acknowledge the PA's role in the ship, in spite of the fact that the ship had been purchased by Arafat's chief financial officer; manned by Palestinian Authority naval officers, and that the captain admitted the PA leadership organized the ship.

Incredibly, despite Arafat's terrorism and polls showing 81% of Palestinian Arabs support suicide bombings*, the Bush administration has increased America's annual aid to the Palestinian Arabs from $100-million to $150 million. And the administration is urging the creation of a Palestinian Arab state--which would mean setting up a mini-Iraq terrorist state along Israel's border. This appeasement tramples President Bush's own doctrine of ending terrorist states and may increase the likelihood of terrorism against the U.S, for if suicide bombers succeed in Israel, they may strike again in America as well.

Whitewashing Arafat's terrorism and trying to appease him with U.S. money and the offer of a state will not turn him into a moderate. It will only send him a message that terrorism reaps financial and diplomatic rewards.

Appeasement didn't work in the 1930s, and it won't work now. As Winston Churchill warned, "Those who appease the crocodile will be eaten last."

* Poll by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, August 8-13, 2001.

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# Bush's Big Speech

It was the one at West Point, not the one on homeland security. BY FRED BARNES

PRESIDENT BUSH was dumbfounded. When he visited the National Security Agency at Fort Meade, Maryland, last week, he was asked by a reporter if he was "moving Iraq to the back burner," given more urgent trouble in the Middle East and South Asia. The president referred the reporter to his commencement address a few days earlier at West Point. "I think you need to read my speech," he said. "I was there, sir," the reporter answered sharply. In that case, Bush said, "I think you need to have *listened* to my speech."

Every so often a presidential speech excites the Washington press corps and generates extravagant coverage. The West Point address did not. That distinction went to Bush's brief talk to the nation on June 6 proposing a vast, new Department of Homeland Security. The next day, the *Washington Post* had four front-page stories on the subject, plus tease lines pointing to two more pieces inside the paper. The West Point speech got one story. The problem was few reporters understood the message of the West Point speech or, in the jargon of Bush aides, "broke the code." Yet it was an extraordinarily significant speech, far more so than the TV address.

What was so important about it? A senior White House aide has a one-word answer: "Preemption." This is both a word the president had never used before and a strategic concept he hadn't fully articulated. Bush touched on it in his State of the Union address last January, saying he will not allow terrorists or nations that harbor terrorists to become a threat to America. "I will not stand by as peril grows closer and closer," he said then. The president told aides he wanted to be more "explicit" at West Point, and he was. "If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long," he declared in the speech. Instead, America will take "preemptive action when necessary." Bush didn't single out Iraq by name, but that's the country he believes already threatens to hand weapons of mass destruction to terrorists or to take action itself. So the speech had a message: Flare-ups may occur in other parts of the world, but the United States won't be distracted from the imperative of military action to remove Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

Also for the first time, Bush dealt with the war on terrorism on the doctrinal level. The Cold War strategies of deterrence and containment still apply in some instances. "But new threats also require new thinking," he said. "Deterrence—the promise of massive retaliation against nations—means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies." Thus, preemption, striking before the enemy does, sooner rather than later.

This was not an idle thought of Bush's that slipped into a speech—quite the contrary. He spent a month and a half honing the West Point remarks. He was handed a draft before he left for Europe on May 22, worked on the speech on Air Force One, then worked more on the long flight home. The president had opportunities to make some of the points in other speeches, but he specifically saved them for West Point and a military milieu. The themes were ones he strongly believes in, an aide said.

*Fred Barnes is executive editor of* THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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# Are We *Addicted* To Drug War Money?

**Government Agencies** — Virtually every part of the federal government gets a piece of the $20 billion annual drug war budget.[1]

**Prison Industry** — The US spends $50 billion annually on prisons. One-quarter of prisoners are drug offenders.[2]

**Treatment Industry** — US Courts force more than 200,000 a year into drug treatment. 37% of all drug treatment admissions are mandated by the courts. 57.1% of marijuana treatment admissions are court mandated.[3]

**Testing Industry** — The $5.9 billion dollar drug testing industry should be replaced with impairment testing. Discovering marijuana use a week ago is as irrelevant as finding beer drinking a week ago.[4]

**Pharmaceuticals** — Profits are protected from medical marijuana competition.

**Alcoholic Beverages** — Profits protected from social marijuana competition.

**Banks** — Banks process billions in drug money. When asked in court how a major bank reacted to his arriving at the airport with $20 million in small bills, the courier responded: "They sent a limousine."

**Military Suppliers and Contractors** — Manufacturers of herbicides, helicopters and military contractors (mercenaries) profit from the $2 billion spent annually on foreign interventions in the name of the War on Drugs.[5]

## Drug trafficking represents eight percent of the world's trade, an untaxed and unregulated $400 billion annually.[6]

**Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy**
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[1] National Drug Control Strategy, Office of National Drug Control Policy, February 2002, pgs 29-31 reports a $19,179.7 billion budget for FY 2003. Some costs are not included, e.g. the cost of military personnel fighting the drug war.
[2] Gifford, Sidra Lea, US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Justice Expenditure and Employment in the United States, 1999 (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, February 2002), Table 3, p. 4; Beck, et al., US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics Prisoners in 2000 (Washington DC: US Department of Justice, August 2001), p. 1-2.
[3] "Admissions by primary substance of abuse, according to treatment characteristics: TEDS 1999," Office of Applied Studies, SAMSHA, Treatment Episodes Data Set (TEDS), October 2001, Tables 3,4 & 8.
[4] "The American Way," Marianno Costantinou, San Francisco Chronicle, August 12, 2001 citing Standard and Poor's.
[5] "National Drug Control Strategy, Office of National Drug Control Policy, February 2002, pgs. 29-31 reports $1,894.00 spent by DoD and Department of State on the drug war. Some funds for intelligence, INTERPOL, ONDCP and the Drug Enforcement Administration are used internationally.
[6] United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, Economic and Social Consequences of Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (New York, NY: UNODCCP, 1998), p. 3.

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Of course White House aides always say something like that. I've never encountered a presidential aide who said a speech consisted of things the president didn't really endorse or only half-heartedly believed in. In Bush's defense, there were antecedents to each of his themes. The insistence on morality in foreign policy is a persistent Bush topic that became all the more timely after Bush spent a week with jaded European leaders. "Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong," he said at West Point. "I disagree." However, this was not a shot prompted by his trip. It was part of the speech beforehand.

A phenomenon of presidential speeches is that comments which begin as mere talking points sometimes wind up as policy. This is quickly becoming the case with Bush's belief that Islamic countries must inevitably embrace democracy. In his State of the Union address, he made a fleeting reference to America's support for people who advocate democratic values, "including in the Islamic world." Bush and his advisers were surprised this line drew little attention. He elaborated on it at West Point, and again the Bush camp was surprised at the meager press attention. "The peoples of the Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation," he said. "Mothers and fathers and children across the Islamic world, and all the world, share the same fears and aspirations." I doubt if Bush made this point when Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia visited him in April. But if he keeps saying it, it will become an issue he'll have to pursue with Arab leaders, probably after Saddam Hussein is ousted.

In the early months of Bush's presidency, he was still a student of foreign affairs with a troika of teachers—Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. Post-September 11, Bush has been the dominant figure in foreign policy. At a White House luncheon on the day of the State of the Union, he impressed a group of TV anchors with his discussion of issues and leaders around the world (he pronounced all their names correctly). Bush has developed strong opinions, especially about the need to remove Saddam Hussein from power. While putting the final touches on his West Point speech, he was apprised of an article in the *Washington Post* by respected military reporter Thomas Ricks. It said the Joint Chiefs of Staff were reluctant to invade Iraq anytime soon, if ever, and had persuaded civilian leaders at the Pentagon to go along. Bush was amazed. "I don't know what they're talking about," he said. Which meant he has plans for Iraq that will trump theirs. ♦

Michael Ramirez



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# Three Cheers for One Strike

## There are solid reasons to worry about repeat offenses from child abusers. BY JOHN J. DIIULIO JR.

THIS WEEK, nearly 300 Catholic bishops are gathering in Dallas to discuss whether parish priests who behave as pedophiles should lose their clerical collars after the first offense or be given one or more chances to repent and reform before being demoted, disgraced, or defrocked. Some bishops reportedly oppose any one-strike policy in favor of having each diocese use psychological evaluations in deciding, case by case, what to do with known perpetrators.

Last month, the U.S. Supreme Court decided to hear arguments concerning Megan's laws, the neighbor-notification policies in 20 states named for Megan Kanka, the New Jersey child who was kidnapped, raped, and killed in 1994 by a paroled sex offender who had moved in across the street. Some justices are reportedly warm to the idea that, rather than automatically putting released child molesters on public sex-offender registries, they should hold individual hearings to determine which freed sex predators still pose a risk and which do not.

Whatever either Catholic canon law or U.S. constitutional law may be interpreted to require in such cases, there is no firm empirical basis for the bishops' and justices' shared assumption that we know how to reform sex offenders or can predict which victimizers will harm children again and which will not.

A few things we do know. Most sex offenders favor young prey. From the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics and other solid sources, we know that, of all sexual assault victims, an estimated 67 percent are under age 18, a third are under age 12, and 1 in 7 are age 6 or younger. Of all persons in prison for sexual assault, about 80 percent victimized a minor, and about 40 percent victimized a child age 12 or younger.

Over half of sex offenders admitted to prisons have violated parole. The two largest recidivism studies ever conducted suggest that, within three years of exiting prison, about half of rapists and other sex offenders are rearrested. For example, in 1994, 3,138 rapists were released from prison in 15 states. Before going to prison, they had racked up 21,638 arrest charges for sexual assaults and a host of other crimes. After three years back on the streets, they had added 2,444 arrests to their total. Overall, 46 percent were rearrested for a new crime, and nearly a fifth were rearrested for a new violent crime.

Sex offender advocates concede that released rapists commit lots of serious crimes, but they stress that only a small fraction (2.5 percent in the latest large recidivism study) are rearrested for rape as opposed to other crimes. Compared with other parolees (for example, released burglars, three-quarters of whom are rearrested, and a quarter of whom are rearrested for burglary, within three years), sex offenders are less prone to be rearrested for the same offenses

*Contributing editor John J. DiIulio Jr. is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute.*


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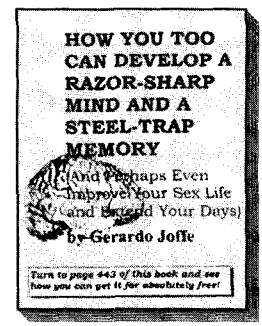


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for which they were last imprisoned.

True, but sex offenders, chronic or casual, need not specialize in sexual predation for one to worry about having them back on the streets unsupervised or in job or community settings that may tempt them. Prisoner self-report studies across several states find that convicted sex offenders, like other felons, commit more crimes of all kinds each year than they are ever arrested for or convicted of committing. Especially hard to detect and prosecute successfully are sexual crimes against minors.

Still, it is not practical to talk, as some victims' rights advocates do, about incarcerating or tightly supervising most or all convicted sex offenders. For example, in 1994 alone (the latest year for which there are complete data), there were 167,550 rapes, plus another 148,610 attempted rapes and 116,590 other sexual assaults. Those crimes resulted in only 20,068 state felony convictions for rape, about 14,248 of which resulted in prison sentences. On average, offenders released from prison for rape in 1996 had served 5.5 years (53 percent of their maximum sentence), up from 5 years, 2 months (46 percent of their maximum sentence) for those released from prison in 1990.

Neither, however, is it practical to assume that many or most sex-offender treatment programs work, or that we have psychological tests and other ways of reliably predicting which sex offenders remain dangerous after being treated and which do not. In the 1980s and early 1990s, many states expanded their prison-based and other programs for known sex offenders, but the rate at which released offenders returned to prison within three years was actually higher for rapists and other sexual assault felons released in 1994 than it was for those released in 1983.

A book published this year, *Crime: Public Policies For Crime Control*, features an essay by University of Cincinnati criminologist Francis T. Cullen, whose research argues that certain criminal rehabilitation programs really do work. Cullen characterizes the latest scientific evaluations of sex-offender programs as showing that "modest, but meaningful, reductions in recidivism can be achieved."

How "meaningful"? Cullen cites one review of 26 quantitative studies (what social scientists call a meta-analysis) which finds that, on average, 12 percent of the treated sex offenders committed more sex offenses, while 22 percent of untreated sex offenders in control groups did so. He cites another such review encompassing 15 studies that focus on the psychological treatment of sex offenders. It shows that, on average, 9.9 percent of sex offenders in "cognitive behavioral programs" commit new sex crimes, while 17.3 percent of sex offenders without such psychological treatment do.

So, roughly 8 out of 10 untreated sex offenders, and 9 out of 10 treated sex offenders, are not caught or prosecuted for new sex crimes. How helpful is that? We cannot pretend to know which sex offenders are most likely to be cured by treatment, or which treatments work best under what conditions.

Mercy for pedophile priests and civil liberties for paroled sex offenders are important and legitimate values. But they must be balanced against justice for past victims and protection of the public from future harm. Whatever the bishops' theological arguments against one-strike policies, there is only pseudo-scientific justification for giving pseudo-celibate priests who have molested children psychological counseling, then restoring them to ministry in positions where they have easy access to and authority over unsuspecting children. Whatever the justices' jurisprudential arguments against Megan's laws, there is only a flimsy empirical basis for denying that returning unsupervised sex offenders to the community without so much as notifying their nearby neighbors is like playing Russian roulette with residents' safety. ♦



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# Our Allies in the Balkans

## If the U.N. will let them, some Muslims want to join us in the war on terror. BY STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

IF YOU'VE BEEN WONDERING where to find wholehearted Muslim support for the war on terrorism, consider the Balkans.

Last week, the authorities in predominantly Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina took further steps to assist the U.S.-led campaign. On June 3, Bosnian police raided seven offices of the Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, including two in Sarajevo and one in the old Turkish town of Travnik. Based in Saudi Arabia, Al-Haramain is deeply implicated in the transfer of funds to al Qaeda. On March 11, Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill—acting jointly with the Saudi government—froze transactions with Al-Haramain in Bosnia and Somalia. The foundation's offices in Sarajevo had fallen under the control of the Egyptian Islamic Group, the terrorist outfit that spawned Osama bin Laden's lieutenant Ayman al-Zawahiri and carried out the Luxor massacre of 62 people, 58 of them foreign tourists, in 1997.

Despite O'Neill's acknowledgment of Saudi cooperation, the Saudis' response to the problem of Islamic charities' role in terrorism has been ambivalent. Thus, the Saudi embassy in Washington finally issued a press release on February 5 declaring that the Saudi government would "take every measure possible to prevent use of these charitable efforts for any unlawful activities"—only to turn around the very next day and issue another statement bound to stir up doubts. This time, the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA) denied it was monitoring the bank accounts of any individuals and stated that, although the United Nations Security Council had provided the names of 150 suspected terrorists, only 53 had had dealings with Saudi banks, and only 4 accounts had been frozen. As recently as May 14, SAMA went further when its vice governor, Muhammad al-Jasser, declared that "not even a single bank account has been frozen in Saudi Arabia" in connection with terror funding. SAMA added to this admission the impudent charge that Israel, rather than "most Arab states," had refused to comply with international recommendations to prevent money laundering.

The Bosnians, by contrast, are being genuinely helpful. On March 19, for example, Bosnian officials executed raids in Sarajevo and the central Bosnian town of Zenica, seizing evidence that formed the basis for perjury charges filed on April 30 in Chicago against one Enaam Arnaout, a Syrian confederate of bin Laden and the head of the Benevolence International Foundation, a fake Islamic charity used as a front for terrorist funding.

The Bosnians, however, like the predominantly Muslim Kosovars, face a surprising obstacle in their efforts to assist the United States. Both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo remain under the political control of a dismally inept United Nations. After seven years of U.N. administration, Bosnia-Herzegovina still has no real economy or legal system in place, nor is the end of foreign occupation in sight. Paradoxically, the situation is better in Kosovo, where the U.N. has been on the scene for only three years, and where the Kosovars are determined to build a new and modern society, even if they have to work around the foreigners to do it.

Strange as it may seem to Americans, U.N. officials in Sarajevo have tried to bar U.N. war crimes investigators from cooperating with the United States in the campaign against Saudi-backed terrorists and their funders. Last October, for example, when Carla del Ponte, chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, turned over to U.S. authorities some information found in Bosnia relating to one of the September 11 hijackers, U.N. representatives were displeased. They complained that the United States was throwing its weight around in the Balkans. U.N. functionaries clearly want the world to forget that the U.N. presided over atrocities in the Balkans, including the 1995 massacre at Srebrenica, without even attempting to prevent them, and that the bloodshed ended only when the United States intervened militarily, resulting in the Dayton Accords.

*Stephen Schwartz's* Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror *will be published at the end of the summer.*

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AP / Wide World Photos

*A Bosnian house rebuilt by Saudi charity; other Saudi initiatives there are more controversial.*

Similarly, in late May, Madeline Rees, boss of the U.N. human rights office in Sarajevo, renewed her denunciations of the Bosnian authorities' "unlawful handover" of six Algerian terror suspects to the United States back in January. Repeating her call for the extradition to be investigated, she asserted that the removal had "damaged" the Bosnian legal system. The deportation of the Algerian suspects was carried out in defiance of a U.N. human rights body staffed by foreigners—but at the order of the elected government in Sarajevo.

On May 1, Bosnian foreign minister Zlatko Lagumdzija reiterated his country's bold stand on these issues. "The world has split into a modern civilization and one of barbarism and terrorism," he said. "Bosnia-Herzegovina has chosen to ally itself with the civilized world. It has decided to be part of the solution, not part of the problem." He added, "For our own sake, we have done the best we could in the past seven months" to locate and arrest terror suspects. On September 11, he declared, "we chose sides."

A Bosnian official who recently visited Washington emphasized the commitment felt by Muslims like him. "This is not negotiable," he said. "Sometimes we Bosnians are slow to engage with a cause. We did not want to admit the inevitability of war in the 1990s, and we were unprepared when the Serbs attacked us. But this time, we knew exactly where we stood and we will see this through. We are stubborn, and we will be stubborn in our friendship with America."

This friendship should continue to bear fruit in the war on terrorism. After the Dayton Accords brought peace to Bosnia in 1995, money and operatives pushing the Wahhabi extremist brand of Islam flooded into Sarajevo from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states. For this reason, investigations in the Balkans are expected to continue yielding documents as well as suspects. Late last month, reputable sources in Sarajevo reported that Bosnian secret service chief Munir Alibabic has proof that $800 million had recently been moved to al Qaeda from Saudi Arabia.

The eagerness of Muslim leaders in the Balkans to support the war on terrorism—in the face of opposition from U.N. and other foreign meddlers—is the biggest unreported story from the European front. This journalistic failure is not surprising, considering the propaganda that continues to be spread against Bosnian and Kosovar Muslims, as well as Western European coolness toward the U.S.-led campaign.

The ethnic Albanians of Kosovo are, if anything, even more avid than the Bosnians to be counted in the anti-terror coalition. "Every Albanian in Kosovo knows that without the help of the United States we would have been devastated by Serbian imperialism," says Daut Dauti, a Kosovar journalist completing a fellowship in the United States. "Muslim Albanians are no less pro-American than others. Our Islamic traditions are pluralist and antiextremist. We will never turn against the United States." A veteran of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) recently suggested that he and his troops would be thrilled to join in a U.S.-led campaign against Saddam Hussein. "We're ready to go in with the first battalion," he said.

This zeal was discernible as soon as the NATO bombing of Serbia stopped and Albanians returned to Kosovo in 1999. In late March 2000, a KLA commander discovered a group of Saudi "aid workers" spying on American diplomats in Pristina, capital of Kosovo, presumably as part of their planning for a terrorist attack. Word that the KLA was preparing to kill the Saudis reached U.N. officials, who warned the Saudis as well as U.S. diplomats. The U.N. and the Americans seemed more outraged at "Albanian lawlessness" than Saudi terror plotting.

By mid-2002, however, the Saudi troublemakers had failed in their elaborate attempt to impose Wahhabism on the Albanians, and they seemed to have had enough of dealing with the Kosovars. "The Muslims here behave like Christians," said Hadi, leader of the Saudi workers involved in the Pristina episode, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*. "They have accepted living like in Europe. I think in 10 years it will be worse. . . . We will not stay." This was an admission that in Kosovo, the Wahhabi-Saudi jihad has failed.

American leaders seem to agree that the anti-terror cause needs Muslim supporters. Balkan Muslims—like Iraqi Kurds, Turks, and recently liberated Afghans, to name a few—are ready to join in. ♦



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# A Demilitarized Palestinian State

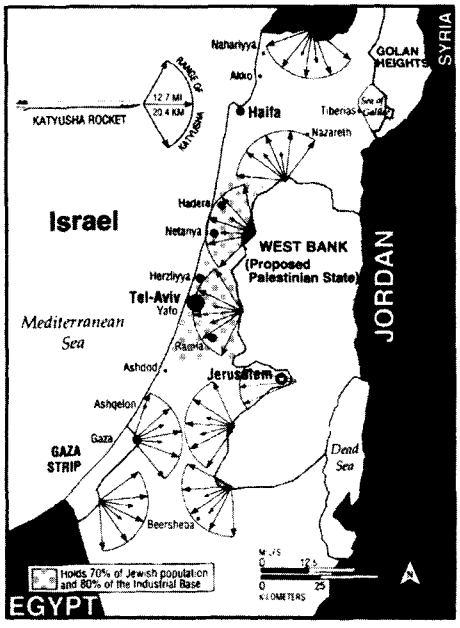
## Should Israel, should the world, rely on it?

Even the most fervent advocates of a Palestinian state are virtually unanimous that such a state should be "demilitarized," since it might otherwise imperil, or perhaps even endanger, the very existence of Israel. "Demilitarization," it is believed, would obviate any military threat to the State of Israel.

## What are the facts?

**Israel threatened by enemies.** Israel is a very small country. Including the Golan and the "West Bank," it is only one-half the size of San Bernardino County in California. Israel has been in a "cold peace" with Egypt since 1978 and has also concluded a peace treaty with Jordan. Other Arab states are still in a declared or undeclared state of war with Israel. Iran, Moslem though not Arab, is the most determined and deadly of them all. It lurks in the background, its foremost military and political objective being the destruction of the state of Israel.

The "Palestine Liberation Organization" (PLO), now transformed into the "Palestinian Authority" (PA), is a terror organization that has two immutable purposes, namely: to kill as many Jews as possible; and to demolish Israel, the Jewish State, and to replace it with "Palestine". And "Palestine" means "from the River to the Sea," as Arafat never ceases to explain to his followers. It is almost incredible that supposedly levelheaded and well-intentioned people would have entered into a "peace agreement" with such an organization.




*A Palestinian state—demilitarized?*

Subsequent developments of course have proven the folly of it. The Palestinians have never kept a single one of the solemn promises they made when they signed on to the "Oslo Agreement"; specifically, they have never forsworn the clauses in their "covenant" that call for the destruction of Israel. They have utterly disregarded and violated the limitations imposed on the number of their "police" (army), the restrictions on armament, and, most importantly, the promise not to use violence in order to attain their political goals. Without any provocation, they launched their bloody "intifada," now well into its second year, equipped with heavy armaments smuggled into the territory (98% of the "West Bank" and Gaza) allotted to them by the goodwill of Israel. This armament would have been greatly enhanced had the Israelis not intercepted the KARINE A, a ship laden with over fifty tons of the most advanced weaponry.

**The myth of demilitarization.** The assumption that "Palestine" would be demilitarized is not tenable. The Arab nations would not allow it, even if the Palestinians themselves so desired. Also, the Palestinian entity would have thousands of trained soldiers, camouflaged as police. They could be helicoptered in minutes to positions on the border with Israel, with armored forces from Syria reaching them within the same night. But such mobilization of the "demilitarized" Palestine wouldn't be required. The weapons of preference of Arab terrorists are the Soviet-made Katyushas, highly effective missiles, truck-mounted and mobile, ideal for hit-and-run raids against Israel. Israel could not prevent them from flooding Palestine. A look at the map makes clear that these rockets, short-range though they may be, would dominate the heartland of Israel. Easily moved and hidden along Israel's new eastern borders—to be increased from less than 40 miles in length to over 200 miles—these Katyushah rockets would rain destruction over most of Israel. They would cover in their entirety Israel's narrow waist that holds 70% of the Jewish population of the country, 80% of its industrial base, its only international airport, and its most important military installations.

A Palestinian state next door to an Israel that would only be nine miles wide at its vulnerable waist, and that could be cut in two by one thrust of a tank column, would leave Israel in constant mortal danger. The Palestinians have proven that they do not want peace -- they want to destroy Israel. Giving them an independent country, even against solemn promises of demilitarization, would ring the death knell for the Jewish State. Only fuzzy thinkers and incurable optimists can believe that an independent Palestine would become a peaceful neighbor of Israel. If Israel ceded the Gaza Strip -- the invasion route since before biblical times -- and Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") to its sworn enemies, it would make the country indefensible and Israel would have laid the groundwork for its own destruction. Tanks, warplanes, and missiles would only be needed for the final mopping-up process. In the meantime, mortars and Katyushas located on the Judean ridges -- Israel's proposed new borders -- would suffice to paralyze life and industrial and military activity in Israel. One can only hope that ultimately Israel's leaders and the world -- even those who are well-intentioned and wish for Israel's survival -- will understand this danger and that they will not press Israel to make further concessions that will endanger its very existence.

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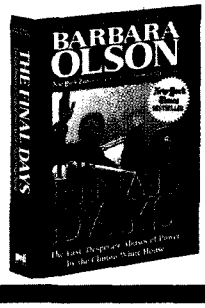


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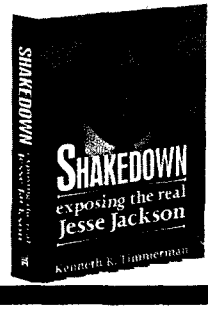


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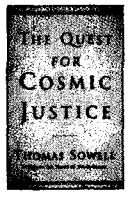


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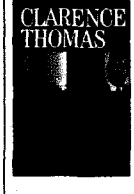


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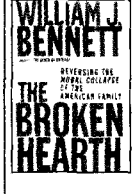


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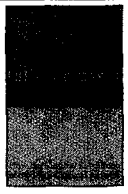

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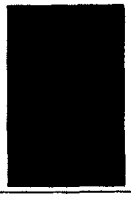

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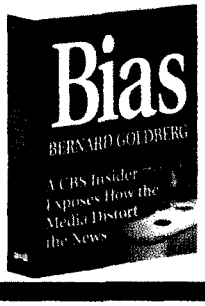


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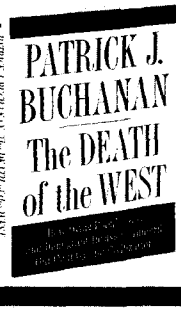


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# The Elephant in the Sacristy

*Beneath the scandals now consuming the Catholic church is a cluster of facts too enormous to ignore.*

## By Mary Eberstadt

*"The abuse of the young is a grave symptom of a crisis affecting not only the church but society as a whole."*
*—Pope John Paul II, speech to American Cardinals, April 2002*

As the American bishops gather in Dallas next week to address the continuing devastation and humiliation of the Catholic church, they could do worse than begin by meditating on a defrocked priest from that city named Rudolph Kos. One of the most notorious child abusers in recent history, Kos was, in every sense, the stuff of which today's ecclesiastical nightmares are made. Now serving a life sentence for assaults on boys of all ages whose total is presumed to number in the hundreds, he was also responsible, in 1998, for the largest settlement yet made in such a case: $119.6 million, later reduced to $31 million.

The reason why the bishops ought to bear Kos particularly in mind is that he is typical of many of the other offender-priests who populate the headlines these days. By his own account, Kos was himself abused as a child. As a teenager, he either molested or attempted to molest other, younger boys. With the help of some priest-mentors who were aware of his personal history and apparently indifferent to it, Kos then gravitated to the priesthood—specifically, to a seminary in Texas where homosexuality was apparently out of the closet. One of his teachers would go on to become a celebrated gay writer. Paul Shanley—the most notorious child abuser among the Boston area clergy—was a guest lecturer on homosexuality there. As a priest, in addition to abusing boys from teenagers down to 9 years of age, Kos was also (as he later described himself) a "gay man." Indeed, court documents show that a fellow priest once complained in a letter of the "boys and young men who stay overnight with you [Kos]."

What even this brief recitation makes clear is a cluster of facts too enormous to ignore, though many labor mightily to avert their eyes. Call it the elephant in the sacristy. One fact is that the offender was himself molested as a child or adolescent. Another is that some seminaries seem to have had more future molesters among their students than others. A third fact is that this crisis involving minors—this ongoing institutionalized horror—is almost entirely about man-boy sex. There is no outbreak of heterosexual child molestation in the American church. In the words of the late Rev. Michael Peterson, who co-founded the well-known clergy-treating St. Luke Institute, "We don't see heterosexual pedophiles at all." Put differently, it would be profoundly misleading to tell the tale of Rudolph Kos—what he was and what he did—without reference to the words "homosexual" and "gay."

Of course, as the bishops and many other savvy observers of the debate will also know, just such distortion has become commonplace—indeed, is the literary norm—in the daily renditions of what the tragedies in the Church are actually "about." The dominant view in the press right now—what might be called the "anything-but-the-elephant" theory—reads like this. Whatever the scandals may *appear* to be about—as it happens, man-boy sex—they are *actually* about something else. "It should be clear by now," as the *New York Times* put it in a classic formulation, "that this scandal is only incidentally about forcing sex on minors." Similarly, the *New Republic*: "We all know that the sexual abuse of minors is horrific; but somehow the bishops did not react with horror. That is what truly shocks." And the *New Yorker*: "The big shocker has been not so much the abuse itself—awful and heartbreaking though it is—as the coldly bureaucratic 'handling' of it by hierarchs like [Boston's Bernard] Law and the current archbishop of New York, Edward Cardi-

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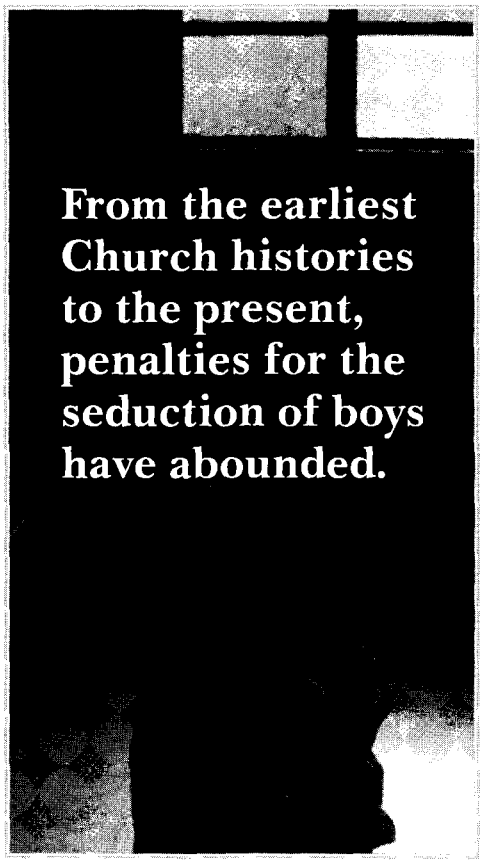
nal Egan." And, for good measure, the *New York Review of Books*: "The current scandal is not a sex scandal."

Some writers do draw attention to the elephant—but only in order to dismiss it. Here is A.W. Richard Sipe, for example, a psychiatrist and former Benedictine monk who is as widely quoted as any other authority on the scandals: "*It's not a gay problem*; it's a problem of irresponsible sexual behavior and the violation of boundaries" (emphasis added here and below). Here is a Jesuit writing in the English Catholic magazine the *Tablet*: "*The problem is not the abusing priests' homosexuality*, but rather their immaturity and their abuse of power." Thereby has developed what might be called the cultural imperative of the scandal commentary—the proposition, as the president of the gay Catholic organization Dignity put it, that "*Homosexuality has nothing to do with it*."

Such strenuous, willful, and perverse denial of the obvious, repeated unceasingly on paper and airwaves and websites these last several months, has been injurious to the greater good on at least two critical counts. First, the insistence on false definitions has deflected attention from where it ought to be—i.e., on who, exactly, has been injured in all this, who has done the injuring, and how restitution might be made. Second, and what is even more dangerous, this widespread repudiation of sheer fact has been inimical to the most important mission facing the bishops and, indeed, all other Catholics. That is the responsibility of doing everything in one's power to prevent this current history, meaning the rape and abuse of innocents by Catholic priests, from ever being repeated. Insisting that things are not what they appear subverts that end, to say the least.




In what follows, therefore, I propose that we tunnel down through the diverting abstractions in which the debate has been shrouded, and then reason back upward from the level of simple fact. For in focusing precisely on the uncontested facts of cases, we do learn something potentially useful not only to the bishops as they hammer out policies for the future, but also to the victims, and possibly even the perpetrators, of this evil. In order to get there, however, we must be able to call the elephant by its name. The real problem facing the American Catholic church is that a great many boys have been seduced or forced into homosexual acts by certain priests; that these offenders appear to have been disproportionately represented in certain seminaries; and that their case histories open questions about sexuality that—verboten though they may have become—demand to be reexamined.

## I

That the Catholic church is an institution sustained of, by, and for sinners is not exactly news to anyone acquainted with human history, let alone to any Catholic or other reader of today's papers. Even so, there is something surpassingly wicked about the scandal now exploded in North America. Of all that Christianity has represented since its inception, there has been one teaching in which believers could take particular historical pride. That was the notion, virtually unique to Christianity (and Judaism), that not only were sexual relations between adults and children wrong—a proscription that puzzled and irritated the ancient pagans, as it does the pagans of today—but that this particular exploitation of innocents was an especially grievous sin. Accordingly, from the earliest Church histories to the present, penalties for the seduction of boys by men have abounded. Anyone who doubts the historical consistency of the Church's teaching here should know that the advocates of pedophilia in the world today—the outright public enthusiasts for man-boy sex—vociferously deplore the Church specifically on account of its millennia-old condemnation of the sexual exploitation of the young.

It has therefore been perverse in the extreme, at least for many ordinary Catholics, to see that one prominent public reaction to the scandals has been to blame matters not on the molesters, but—incredibly—on the non-molesting rest of the Church. This is, after all, the meaning of the widespread attack on priestly celibacy. As one writer asked in *Slate* with apparent hopefulness, "Does the celibacy rule turn priests into child molesters?"

There was, to put the matter delicately, more than a



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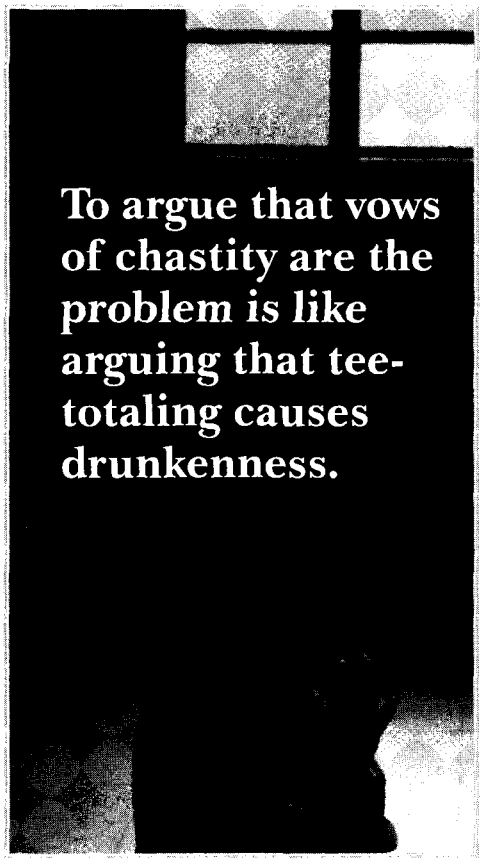
touch of *schadenfreude* in this reaction to the scandals—even some humor, albeit very, very dark. After all, it is not as if all those dissenting Catholics, lapsed Catholics, and outright anti-Catholics chastising the Church these many months had hitherto shown much enthusiasm for its teachings about sexual morality. In its way, the fact that just such critics took out after celibacy did make perfect, if surreal, sense. As *First Things* editor Richard John Neuhaus shrewdly observed, "The celibacy rule is so offensive to many of today's commentators, Catholic and otherwise, because it so frontally challenges the culturally entrenched dogma that human fulfillment and authenticity are impossible without sexual intercourse of one kind or another."

The nagging problem with the attack on celibacy, however, has been that it does not hold up under any sort of inspection, and this for several reasons. There is, first, the historical point that celibacy has been widely practiced by various religions over the centuries (for a representative list, see the entry on "celibacy" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*). While the sexual molestation of minors is not unknown in that history, neither does it break out all over—as it would if current critics of celibacy vows were right about the connection between the two. Americans being less historically minded than some others, it is perhaps understandable that the point did not surface more often. But there was also, as it turned out, a pragmatic problem with the same attack. Millions of baby boomer American Catholics had direct experience of being educated and otherwise influenced by priests, and they knew from personal experience that most priests had not been turned by celibacy into moral monsters.[1]




But the biggest problem with the argument against celibacy has been that it simply affronts common sense. To argue that vows of chastity lay somehow at the root of the priest scandal is like arguing that tee-totaling causes drunkenness, or that quitting smoking will increase the risk of lung cancer. The purported causality of the thing, as Michael Novak and others patiently explained, simply could not hold. Even more illogical, if that is possible, has been the idea that allowing priests to marry would somehow reduce the kind of sexual offenses of which the scandals were made. "Right," in conservative columnist Maggie Gallagher's tart words. "As if wives are the answer to the sexual urges of men who get their kicks from adolescent boys."

When the American cardinals returned from their April meeting with the pope, bearing the news that the Vatican was not about to abandon the celibacy rule no matter how many lapsed, anti- and un-Catholics in the United States demanded it, there surfaced another purported explanation of how the scandals came to be—that they were the outcome of a "culture of secrecy" within the Church. This argument had particular force because it has been put forward by the well-known reporter and Catholic Jason Berry, whose remarkable 1992 book, *Lead Us Not into Temptation*, remains the single best factual account of the forces and personalities at work in the prophetic first round of scandals over a decade ago. "The crisis in the Catholic Church," as Berry put his larger argument recently in the *New York Times*, "lies not with the fraction of priests who molest youngsters but in an ecclesiastical power structure that harbors pedophiles, conceals other sexual behavior patterns among its clerics, and uses strategies of duplicity and counterattack against the victims." Closely related to this argument of Berry's was a similar procedural explanation of the origins of the scandals—that they were the result of "clericalism," or undue emphasis on the privileges and prerogatives of the clerical estate.

Both charges were, and are, undeniably true in a limited sense. No doubt, shameful efforts by some Church authorities to dodge rather than comply with the criminal law have allowed priests to continue molesting when they might instead have been confined in a cell. No doubt,

[1]Of course, there was also more than a little human comedy in the fact that some of the public critics now demanding a married clergy for themselves were just the sort of people known elsewhere for loudly deploring the hardships of juggling family and career. As mentioned, the spectacle of a largely secular press attacking the Church for its own sexual sins, real and unreal, has not been without its (again, black) humor.



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either, that the personal grandiosity of certain prelates has also inhibited the desire to clean Catholic house. The criticism now raining down on the American hierarchy for its negligence is largely deserved.

Even so, in the effort to understand how the crimes happened, as well as the even more pressing business of deterring them in the future, the arguments about "secrecy" and "clericalism" amount to a sideshow. For while both phenomena obviously made the sexual assault of children *possible*, neither secrecy nor clericalism *caused* the assaults in the first place. Plenty of other institutions, from the CIA to 4-H clubs, keep institutional secrets all the time, and with no visible upswing in the sexual abuse of male children as a result. It is certainly arguable that post-Vatican II Catholic America has been bounded by a three-way collusion among disobedient priests, disobedient lay people, and child-molesting clergy benefiting from general laxity—a kind of ecclesiastical Bermuda triangle in which discipline and traditional moral teachings have mysteriously disappeared. But this is hardly the problem that writers who finger Catholic "secrecy" as the main factor in the scandals have in mind.

Yet another theory that serves to evade the elephant, this one prominent in some Catholic circles as well, is the argument that what "actually" lay at the root of the scandals was something called sexual (sometimes "psychosexual") "immaturity." Referred to frequently by A.W. Richard Sipe, among others, this theory blames minor molestation not exactly on molesters themselves, but on the all-male religious communities through which they pass. "There is a structure within the Church that fosters immaturity," as Sipe put it recently on PBS. "We're boys together, and the Church supplies all that. It is a kind of adolescent attitude, and there are those who turn to adolescents because of their immaturity."

Such analysis has a strong following not only among the sophisticated secular media, but also within the American Catholic hierarchy, as the language of its scandal-managing sometimes shows. (Thus, a spokesman for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops said recently that what is needed is "to assure the people that the candidates for the priesthood are suitable people, and any problems that might lead to *immaturity* in behavior would have been caught or addressed in seminary.")

Nevertheless, even a cursory examination of reality brings the abstractions of "immaturity" up short. There is, first, the uncomfortable fact—or what ought to be an uncomfortable fact, especially for Catholics—that the explanation from "immaturity" bears no resemblance to the language of sin and redemption. It simply medicalizes the problem, emptying the abuser's acts of moral meaning and (literally, in this case) defining deviancy down. But that is not its only limitation. Rather, the fundamental shortcoming of the "psychosexual" argument is that it does not explain what it purports to explain—namely, where the scandals came from.

For if the argument is that perpetrators are somehow "frozen" in a stage of "immaturity," the objection immediately presents itself that most 9-, 13-, even 16-year-old boys do not act the way offending priests do. Immaturity in a boy may present itself in varied ways—sibling-teasing, homework-losing, bathroom humor—but a compulsive search for adult-orchestrated homosexual esoterica is usually not among them. Child and adolescent sexual exploration, to be sure, is hardly unknown; one thinks especially of Britain's famous boarding schools. But "intergenerational sex," with its inevitable elements of adult power and coercion, is not something children gravitate toward intuitively.

The theory about "immaturity" is perhaps a useful heuristic tool for theorists. But it obscures the real-life point that priests who molest the young do not sexually or psychologically resemble typical adolescents and children in the least. The exception, of course—and this is a point to which we will return—is that of children who are themselves sexually abused. For such children, compulsive sexuality—the attempt to inflict on other, younger children what they have been forced to learn themselves—is a well-documented clinical norm. (This is true for heterosexual and homosexual abuse alike.) But the psychosexual theory, recall, is that the institutions rather than the individuals explain the abuse cases. The problem with perpetrators, however, is not that they are "immature"; the problem is that they are all too mature, they are predatory, and they are also, according to most case studies, largely unrepentant.

## II

When these sorts of substantive or quasi-substantive arguments failed to become the definitive case for what the scandals were "actually" about, another, more ideological response began circulating throughout the media. This was the argument that the "real" problem at hand was that Catholic conservatives would use the scandals as the pretext for a "witch hunt" to "purge" the Church of homosexuals. In the past several months, virtually interchangeable essays to that effect have appeared all over the American media—from mainstream newspapers and magazines to gay-activist or activist-friendly sources, including the *Advocate*, the Independent Gay Forum, *Slate*, *Salon*, and many more.

It is certainly true that some Catholic traditionalists—precisely because they have been unconstrained by the



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secular cultural imperative of evading the elephant—have been willing to point to one or another feature of it. "You cannot blame people," as Rod Dreher of *National Review* put it in one of his many plain-spoken contributions to the discussion, "for asking if there's something about the culture of homosexuality in the Catholic priesthood that fosters this phenomenon. . . . [I]t is not homophobic to ask." Writing from a very different corner of the Catholic world, Germain Grisez—one of the Church's leading moral theologians in the United States—has been equally blunt: "The bishops and those who speak for them," as he wrote recently, "should acknowledge honestly that most clerical sex crimes that have come to light have been seductions of adolescents and young men by homosexual priests." Other traditionalist lay Catholics have also violated the cultural imperative in their own discussions of the scandals.

One singularly fearless such examination was published well before the Boston scandal broke in January. This was an extraordinary essay called "The Gay Priest Problem," published in the magazine *Catholic World Report* in November 2000.[2] In it, Jesuit Paul Shaughnessy took aim in orthodox language at what he called "the ugly and indisputable facts: a disproportionately high percentage of priests is gay; a disproportionately high percentage of gay priests routinely engages in sodomy; this sodomy is frequently ignored, often tolerated, and sometimes abetted by bishops and superiors." Citing controversial *Kansas City Star* pieces reporting that priests were dying of AIDS at some four times the rate of the general population, Shaughnessy also drew attention to the fact that certain orders and institutions were noticeably more affected than others. (Of seven novices ordained in the Missouri Province of the Jesuit order in 1967 and 1968, for instance, he reported that "three have (to date) died of AIDS, and a fourth is an openly gay priest now working as an artist in New York.") He further noted that gay priests themselves "routinely gloat about the fact that gay bars in big cities have special 'clergy nights,' that gay resorts have set-asides for priests, and that in certain places the diocesan apparatus is controlled entirely by gays." Shaughnessy also sounded a prescient note in daring to question what he called "the dogma that the preponderance of male victims [of clerical sexual abuse] is entirely unrelated to priestly homosexuality."

Another examination of homosexuality in the clergy from a traditionalist perspective—this one also written before the recent round of scandals, but published in tandem with them—comes in the form of Michael S. Rose's newly released book *Goodbye, Good Men*, a scathing polemic charging that the "lavenderization" of American seminaries has driven vocations down. Much discussed in traditional Catholic circles, and largely, though not entirely, the object of cultural *omerta* outside them, Rose's book outlines in part the charge that a "gay subculture" has come to flourish in many seminaries.

There are, for example, the seminaries so homosexualized that they came to be known as "Notre Flame," "Theological Closet," and the "Pink Palace." In some, says Rose, seminarians make public outings to gay bars together. In others pornography is ubiquitous. In still others, sexual access to young men is so taken for granted as a perquisite that sexual-harassment lawsuits by former seminarians long ago ceased to be remarkable. Rose also reports—as has a recent, post-scandal story in *Newsweek*—that the role of the heterosexual seminarian in such a world is not an enviable one. He details cases of non-sexual harassment—by disciplinary action, coercive "counseling," or social ostracism—by which "lavender" seminaries punish or exclude heterosexual men who are perceived as theological or social threats. Rose's book is more anecdotal than systematic, and more than one review has criticized his impressionistic approach. But such charges do not diminish the shock effect of such anecdotes—or their effectiveness in illuminating just how lax in various ways authorities in some seminaries have been.[3]

Despite these and other piecemeal attempts by orthodox Catholics to assay the beast, however, the fact is that it is not Church traditionalists who have been in the forefront of diagnosing and publicizing the man-boy sex scandal. In fact, if traditionalists as a whole can be said to have shared a single fault in the scandal history, it is that many of them chose to look the other way as compelling evidence emerged—starting with Jason Berry's articles for the *National Catholic Reporter* in the 1980s—that both active homosexuality and minor molestation were increasing among priests. To many traditionalists, no doubt, these were subjects summoning such personal repugnance that they could not be faced. Some simply refused to believe that priests had been sexually active. To others—and this reaction remains powerful still—the mere notion of airing the Church's dirty laundry in the media is unthinkable. Either way, certain evils were

[2] This same essay is reprinted as a comment on the scandals in the current issue of *Catholic World Report*, and can be read online at *www.catholic.net/rcc/Periodicals/Igpress/2000-11/essay.html.*

[3] For an extended critique of the book which argues that the situation in the seminaries is no longer as dire as Rose describes, see Rev. Robert J. Johansen's essay in the May 2002 issue of *Culture Wars* magazine, *www.culturewars.com/may02_ggm.html.*



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not seen. In the *New York Review of Books*, Garry Wills has taken traditionalists to task for opting over the years toward the view that the scandals were being blown out of proportion. Evident though Wills's anti-orthodox agenda may be, on this point he is right. Confronted with the horrifying facts about man-boy sex instigated by Catholic priests, many such Catholics behaved as if the explosion of sexual abuse cases were just an expression of anti-Catholic bias.

Even so, the reluctance of the orthodox to face as much proves exactly how wrong the charge of a traditionalist "purge" really is. Orthodox American Catholics, far from brandishing their torches, are in fact (exceptions already noted) coming late to what others have established. What the "purge" argument really does is to deflect attention from something much more interesting—namely, the fact that points like Shaughnessy's and Rose's have been made repeatedly over the years by other writers, including some who cannot possibly be described as ideological tools of the would-be "purgers."

One such authority is Donald B. Cozzens, whose 2000 book *The Changing Face of the Priesthood* came endorsed, among others, by Theodore Hesburgh, liberal icon and former president of Notre Dame. Cozzens—a priest, professor of theology, and former president-rector of a seminary—observed that "the need gay priests have for friendship with other gay men, and their shaping of a social life largely comprised of other homosexually oriented men, has created a gay subculture in most of the larger U.S. dioceses. A similar subculture has occurred in many of our seminaries."

Like Rose, Cozzens emphasized two other consequences of this gaying of the priesthood: the reordering of what had been masculine social life along feminized lines drawn by gossip, favoritism, and cliques; and the consequent deterrence of some unknown number of actual and potential heterosexual seminarians. "Not infrequently," Cozzens explained, "the sexual contacts and romantic unions among gay seminarians create intense and complicated webs of intrigue and jealousy leading to considerable inner conflict. Here the sexually ambiguous seminarian drawn into the gay subculture is particularly at risk. The straight seminarian, meanwhile, feels out of place and may interpret his inner destabilization as a sign that he does not have a vocation to the priesthood." Writing in the *Boston Globe* earlier this year, Cozzens took the opportunity to put the same point even more forcefully: "My own experience as a former seminary rector made it clear to me that the growing number of homosexually oriented priests is deterring significant numbers of Catholic men from seriously considering the priesthood. Moreover, seminary personnel face considerable challenges dealing with the tensions that develop when gay and straight men live in community."

If the example of Cozzens suggests that there is more to the concern over active homosexuality than a traditionalist witch hunt, the example of Jason Berry proves the point. Berry's treatment of the role of overtly gay priests in the scandals, as *National Review* contributor Stanley Kurtz has acutely observed, is "all the more striking for coming from the pen of a Catholic who would himself like to see a liberalization of the Church's sexual teachings." Moreover, Berry obviously takes pains to be charitable toward gay priests. Even so, the reporter in Berry is unable to avoid the correlation of the scandals having grown in tandem with openly and actively gay priests. His own groundbreaking work on the scandals is shot through with ambivalence about just that.

Here, for example, is Berry writing of that very uneasiness ten years ago in *Lead Us Not into Temptation*:

> I felt sympathy for most of the gay priests I interviewed; I also found myself troubled by things some of them said. Of eighteen priests . . . I interviewed on a [*National Catholic Reporter*] assignment about clergy, only two claimed to have honored celibacy. . . . It would be irresponsible not to note that a strain of gay culture is taken up with youth love. . . . Many gay bookstores feature books celebrating man-youth (if not man-boy) sex. . . . There are also some homosexuals who are drawn to an age zone of young manhood that hovers close to the age of legal consent.

The case of Stanley Kurtz is comparable. Though he writes most frequently for *National Review*, Kurtz, a non-Catholic, has stated publicly that he does not believe homosexuality is a sin. Nevertheless, he has been more adamant than any other observer in connecting the dots between the priest scandals, on the one hand, and such explosive political issues as gay marriage, on the other. "The uproar over priestly sex abuse," he argues, "offers spectacular confirmation of nearly every warning ever issued by the opponents of gay marriage." The American church presents "a case in which gay sexual culture has not been tamed, but has instead dramatically subverted a venerable social institution." In defending this essay, Kurtz also linked the scandals with yet another issue of society-wide significance: gays in the military. "Surely much of the difficulty" in the Church cases, as he put it, "derives from an institutional setting in which large numbers of gay men, whatever their internal psychological state, room and travel together, and are given intimate access to young men. Gay-rights advocates have tried to pretend that, in cases like the military, such access does not matter. But it does. . . . [O]ne lesson of this scandal is that the integration of homosexual and heterosexual men in the same living areas can in fact break down 'unit cohesion,' thereby causing institutional disruption."



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The idea that the crisis is being stage-managed as a traditionalist plot ought finally to be put to rest by another whistleblower who has consistently exposed and decried both the scandals and the proliferation of active homosexuality in Church life. In 1989, this Catholic complained: "Blatantly active homosexual priests are appointed, transferred and promoted. Lavender rectories and seminaries are tolerated. National networks of active homosexual priests (many of them administrators) are tolerated." The United States, this writer went on to charge, is developing "a substantially homosexual clergy, many of whom are blatantly part of the gay subculture."

The author of these and many other unminced words on the subject is no icon of Catholic traditionalists, but rather their *bête noire* Andrew Greeley—jet-setting Jesuit sociologist, racy novel writer, and no one's idea of a Church reactionary. Here is Greeley again, in 1990, urging the archdiocese of Chicago to "clean out the pedophiles, break up the gay cliques, tighten up the seminary, and restore the good name of the priesthood." Greeley, for one, has not hesitated to identify the elephant. In that sense, his unassailable standing as a political liberal in all other respects has likely proved invaluable. Recall the outcry that greeted Cardinal Adam Maida of Detroit in recent weeks for observing that the Church's problem was "a homosexual-type problem" and that "it is an ongoing struggle to make sure that the Catholic priesthood is not dominated by homosexual men." Yet Maida's are milder words on the subject than many of Greeley's over the years. One can only imagine the explosion had any traditionalist recently written, as Greeley was quoted years ago saying, that "the two phenomena [of homosexuality and pedophilia] shade into one another."

If this is the stuff of a Catholic traditionalist "purge," it has acquired an unusual officer corps.

## III

This last quotation of Greeley's brings us to the most pernicious evasive maneuver of all. That is the attempt to define the problem away with the language of therapeutic expertise. Central to this effort has been the supposed distinction that, as *Newsweek* and a thousand other sources have put it, "The great majority of cases now before the church involve not pedophilia but 'ephebophilia,' an attraction to post-pubescent youths."

Indeed, the appeal of this pseudo-scientific distinction is one of the curious features of the scandal commentary. Social conservatives and traditionalists have embraced this distinction, as they have similarly the sociological language of author Philip Jenkins (who describes the current crisis as a "moral panic"). The attraction of this approach for traditionalists seems to be that it is marginally less damaging to the reputation of the Church if its priests are seen more as preying on teenagers than on preadolescents. Meanwhile, Church dissidents and gay activists have seized on it for a related reason—namely, that it is marginally less damaging to the reputation of homosexual priests if it turns out that the renegades in their ranks are having problems with teenage boys, rather than engaging in "true" pedophilia. The fact that this serves as yet another example of defining deviancy down—i.e., that ephebophilia is discussed not as a horror in its own right, but as a less-bad alternative to sex with little children—has been under-discussed, to put it mildly. In fact, of all critics and commentators, it is Wills who has best exposed the corrupt rhetorical uses of this distinction: "If 'real' pedophilia involves only the abuse of prepubescents," he writes, "that instantly reduces the number of priests who can be called pedophiles. Those who 'just' molest adolescents look less monstrous and even—somewhat—forgivable."

But there is a deeper problem than this rhetorical sleight of hand with the reliance on the pseudo-scientific ephebophile/pedophile distinction. The real problem is that the distinction is useless as a taxonomic description of most actual offenders. It does not begin to catalogue accurately the tastes of the most notorious abusers—i.e., the very people it purports to classify.

Pulling together the threads of case after case of prominent offenders proves the point. A very few abusers, of whom Boston's defrocked John J. Geoghan appears to be one, apparently found their sexual appetites limited to prepubescent children.[4] But as *Boston Globe* reporters Michael Paulson and Thomas Farragher observed in March, "those cases [like Geoghan's], in which priests became sexually involved with multiple boys and girls who have not yet reached puberty, are actually relatively uncommon." Much more common, as anyone reading the details of cases will know, is a polymorphous pattern of abuse in which the easy therapeutic distinctions dominant in the media and the secular therapeutic worlds cease to apply. Some abusers—again, a minority—prey on boy children only, others prey on boy children *and* teenage boys, others still prefer teenagers and men, and some are what might be called sexually omnivorous, attracted to other gay men, teenagers, and young boys too.

Begin at the beginning, of sorts, with the notorious

[4] I say "apparently" because, here as elsewhere, the public record is incomplete. According to published reports, Geoghan's victims ranged in age from 4 to 12. Like other offenders, Geoghan may well have more victims, of a larger age range, than has so far been revealed in print.



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case that is explored at length in the opening of Jason Berry's *Lead Us Not into Temptation*—the case, indeed, that first put Catholic priest offenders into the headlines 15 years ago. The priest in question was Gilbert Gauthe of Louisiana, eventually sentenced to 20 years in prison for the rape and sexual abuse of more than three dozen boys. Sexually molested himself as a child, Gauthe went on to claim what may have been hundreds of boy victims as he was reassigned to one parish after another. Yet while Gauthe is frequently cited as a textbook prepubescent child molester—at times as *the* classic priest-pedophile—the reality is more complicated. For Gauthe's victims ranged in age from as young as 7 to as old as 15—and those are the limits gleaned only from Berry's account; the actual age span of his victims may have been wider. The point is that Gauthe did not appear to discriminate, as contemporary therapeutic language would have it, between adolescents and pre-adolescents. Frankly, and like many other offenders, Gauthe preyed on both.

Now consider the case of James Porter of Fall River, Massachusetts, who pled guilty in 1993 to the sexual abuse of more than two dozen children and is also thought to have claimed victims in the hundreds. Porter, another offender-priest who reportedly was molested as a child, attended seminary at the institution identified in Rose's book as the "Pink Palace." A clinical rarity, Porter appears to have been what can only be called pansexual. His many victims included a few young girls (the overwhelming majority of those he molested were boys). Before getting caught, moreover, Porter married and had children of his own. In fact, this pansexuality is what makes Porter's case remarkable, perhaps even singular, in the annals of priest offending, as the cases outlined below suggest.

Paul Shanley's is one case among many that belies the cut-and-dried distinctions now governing debate. Here was no textbook pedophile or ephebophile, but rather a sexually active gay man with a taste for children and adolescents too. (Shanley has written that he himself "had been sexually abused as a teenager, and later as a seminarian by a priest, a faculty member, a pastor and ironically by the predecessor of one of the two Cardinals who now debates my fate.") Just how many boys and teenagers Shanley molested may never be known, but given the years in which he was reshuffled from one place to another despite complaints, the number of each is assumed to be high. Note that word "each." To put the matter emblematically, the specific criminal charges against Shanley involve Gregory Ford, whom he is accused of raping between 1983 and 1990—in other words, over the course of seven years beginning when Ford was 6 years old. Under current therapeutic understanding, what would this pattern alone make Shanley—a pedophile when Ford is 6, and an ephebophile when he is 13?

**What does this make Shanley—a pedophile when Ford is 6, and an ephebophile when he is 13?**

To pose the question is to reveal its absurdity. Shanley was indeed sexually active with children, he was also sexually active with adolescents; and he moreover participated in various ways in openly gay Catholic society. To put the matter another way, while Shanley's pedophilia has never been in public doubt since his name hit the headlines—the most trumpeted fact about him is that he is thought to have been a founding member of the North American Man/Boy Love Association—his simultaneous standing in the gay community has barely been mentioned. Yet if anyone could be said to be a credentialed member of gay Catholic social and intellectual life, it would have been Shanley. He was, for example, affiliated with Dignity USA from its early days (he appears in its archives as a "major speaker" in 1975). He was also an expert speaker on the seminary circuit (not on pedophilia, of course, but on homosexuality). And he co-owned a gay resort with another gay priest.

And so the breakdown of the pedophilia/ephebophilia distinction goes. After Shanley and Geoghan, the most discussed arrested cleric in the Boston area is Ronald H. Paquin, who has admitted to having molested what the *Boston Herald* describes as "numerous boys," some for years on end. Currently in the headlines as a textbook case of a molesting priest repeatedly reassigned by Boston's Cardinal Law, Paquin reports that he himself was molested as a child by his own hometown priest. Some allegations against Paquin are particularly awful; he is accused by parents of bearing responsibility for one teenager's sui-



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cide, and another teenager was killed in a car Paquin was driving, allegedly upon return from one of many assignations with teenage boys. Incidentally, Paquin attended the same seminary as Paul Shanley.

Finally, consider a prominent case outside the Boston area, that of the Rev. Maurice Blackwell, who was shot in Baltimore last month by a man alleging that the priest had abused him over a three-year period. After that shooting, according to the *Baltimore Sun*, another man filed a police report claiming that Blackwell had also abused him as a teenager. According to a third man, Blackwell molested him from the time he was a fifth-grader "until the victim was 26 years old." These sexual encounters, the accuser said, occurred in the seminary Blackwell attended. This was the "Pink Palace." The charges against Blackwell are not proven. Church officials involuntarily removed him from his parish in 1998 because of what they call a "credible" accusation of "inappropriate activity" with a minor. Alleged victims are continuing to come forward. Blackwell, like others, is accused of preying upon boys of varying ages, up to adulthood. In sum, the standard pedophile vs. ephebophile explanation of how the scandals came to be is empirically unsound. No doubt for that reason, as *Washington Post* reporter Sandra G. Boodman put it in an unusually well-informed newspaper account, "experts in sexual abuse outside the Church rarely make this distinction."

**The Vatican's decision to review the seminaries comes none too soon.**

## IV

A review of the details of the scandal cases yields three common denominators that arise in too many cases to be dismissed as incidental to the abuse. The first important fact suggested by the record so far—and one that obviously demands definitive study as soon as possible—is that *some seminaries appear to be disproportionately represented in abuse cases*. In one of the few secular discussions of this aspect of the elephant, two *Boston Herald* reporters examined one such seminary in some depth. Their report is worth quoting at length:

> A Herald analysis of cases of priests facing serious pedophile allegations in the state . . . shows that a disproportionate percentage attended [Boston's] St. John's in the late 1950s and 1960s. . . . Regardless of why, the numbers are staggering, especially for certain classes.
>
> The class of 1960 contained at least five men involved in pedophilia allegations. That's out of a class of approximately 77 graduates. Experts put the incidence of pedophilia in the general population at around 1 percent. For the St. John's graduates ordained in 1960, the figure appears to approach 7 percent—seven times the national average for men. . . .
>
> Then came the class of 1968, which included six men accused of pedophilia, including Paul Mahan—target of some of the most vile allegations.
>
> Significantly, this graduating class was far smaller than those that had passed through St. John's a decade earlier. With fewer than 50 members, the incidence of alleged pedophilia in the class rises to about 12 percent. . . .
>
> One student described an atmosphere of frequent experimentation. Gay students quickly identified each other, he said, and established networks that would last in some fashion until years after graduation and ordination into the priesthood. . . .
>
> A priest in the archdiocese who studied elsewhere but was involved in events at St. John's said the biggest concern among administrators was students who were torn between piety and banned sexual behavior. Many young men are "mixed up" at that age, the priest said, and vulnerable to exploitation by older or more sophisticated classmates. . . .
>
> By the 1960s, despite sometimes iron rule in the archdiocese by Richard Cardinal Cushing, St. John's was the focus of dissent.

As this account suggests, some seminaries have been home to a highly combustible mix of ideology, rebellion, and future criminality. This aspect of the crisis has been decades in the making. How did it come to be? Perhaps one sort of rebellion breeds another. Perhaps, too—a point that comes up anecdotally in the scandal literature—some offenders are actually made worse by contact with like-minded men. If observers like Robert J. Johansen are correct and the problem is already on the way to amelioration, so much the better—that is information that both Catholics and a concerned public ought to have. Either way, the Vatican's decision to address the abuse cases in part through a review of the seminaries comes none too soon.



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The second feature of the cases that arises too often to be dismissed as a coincidence is the fact that *many of the offender-priests caught to date report that they were molested as minors themselves*. This is hardly surprising. Clinical estimates for the rate of childhood victimization among abusers range as high as 80 percent. In other words, though not all victims of sexual abuse go on to become perpetrators, many perpetrators *do* seem to have started as victims.

This overlooked fact of the abuse cases has profound implications, including for Catholic bishops and other policymakers now asking how such cases may be prevented in the future. From the point of view of simple deterrence, it puts a red flag over any candidate who was himself sexually seduced by an adult as a child or adolescent. Ordination, after all, is not a civil right. Screening for a history of victimization might sharply reduce the likelihood of future generations of priests becoming fodder for headlines. Put simply, if such men had been turned away from seminaries during the last several decades, the scandals in the Church as we know them would never have reached today's scale.

Would screening for such victims (and admittedly, perfect truth-telling is unlikely) have the effect of discriminating against homosexually oriented men? The answer is very probably a qualified yes. This is because homosexuals as a group, according to a variety of clinical sources—including those by gay and gay-friendly researchers—are more likely to have been sexually abused themselves than are heterosexuals.[5] As a simple matter of arithmetic, therefore, they might be disproportionately affected by such a standard compared to heterosexuals. But if such discrimination is the shortest cut to reducing the number of tomorrow's victims, it is hard to discern the competing moral principle on which it could be opposed.

The third and final implication of the abuse cases—this one society-wide, to return to the pope's words—is a corollary of the victim-turned-perpetrator phenomenon. *The subject of early sexual experience and its role in future orientation needs to be allowed back into legitimate public debate*.

This is, of course, a suggestion likely to be disputed by gay activists, whose ideology of "orientation" is exactly why the subject of environmental influences on sexuality has become verboten. This is not to suggest that the gay community alone holds such a view—far from it. What is almost universally called "sexual preference" is now believed by many Americans—including in some parts of the religious culture—to be inborn, as fixed as such genetic markers as melanin or the pattern of one's fingerprints, and presumably just as immutable.

The facts of the ongoing priest scandals, however, challenge that view. In the end, one must believe one of two things about the offenders: Either they were born with a sexual "orientation" toward molesting children; or somehow, just maybe, the experience of being molested themselves affected their future sexual feelings. If one holds to the "orientation" view, one faces the serious problem of explaining away as "coincidence" a broadly shared experience of childhood or adolescent molestation—one out of proportion to the general population. But if, on the other hand, sexual predators are made, not born, a currently forbidden hypothesis suggests itself: that other "sexualities," too, may be affected by experience.

Today, the few researchers and clinicians who dare touch this subject are treated as professional lepers. Think only of the calumny that has come the way of the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality (NARTH), which provides counseling to homosexual men and women who believe that sexual "orientation" is susceptible to change. Public opprobrium has also been the fate incurred by groups like Courage, a ministry to homosexuals from the perspective of traditional Catholic teaching. There is no doubt that the experience of groups like these—similar to those of the few writers who have dared dissent from the contemporary secular articles of faith about homosexuality—has had a chilling effect on public discussion, including discussion that could help identify, diagnose, and treat offenders in the future.

And here is where a contemporary secular taboo—that of questioning the ideology of "orientation"—crash-

[5] In a recent review of the literature in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, for example, two researchers noted that "abused adolescents, particularly those victimized by males, were up to 7 times more likely to self-identify as gay or bisexual than peers who have not been abused." "Sexual Abuse of Boys: Definition, Prevalence, Correlates, Sequelae, and Management," William C. Holmes, Gail B. Slap JAMA Dec. 2, 1998 vol. 280, No. 21. For a pro-gay-rights source making similar claims based on several other studies, see Caitlin Ryan and Donna Futterman, *Lesbian & Gay Youth: Care and Counseling* (Columbia University Press, 1998): "In a survey of sexual abuse victims who attended STD clinics, for example, 37 percent of gay men had been sexually abused as children or adolescents. And in an outcome study of lesbians and gay men who had completed inpatient substance abuse treatment, 44 percent reported having been sexually abused (37 percent of males and 67 percent of females) with abstinence being much more likely among those who had not experienced abuse. Prevalence of sexual abuse appears higher among gay males than heterosexual males, although gay males may be more willing to report such abuse."



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es head-on into the greater public good. What the priest scandals demonstrate beyond argument is that what we need, right now, is in-depth study of the victim-to-perpetrator causal chain. We need answers to questions that, properly understood, will help prevent other boys from being preyed upon in the future—for example, why some children who are abused do not go on to become abusers themselves; why others become compulsive offenders whose victims number as high as the hundreds; and how institutions of all sorts might better screen and thwart and help the adults tempted by this profound evil. Today, however, because the ideology of "orientation" has effectively foreclosed discussion of just these issues, there is a tragically short supply of such theoretical and clinical exploration—and likely an even shorter supply of personal will and fortitude among potential researchers. As the *JAMA* article cited earlier noted suggestively—in a review, recall, of the clinical literature on the sexual abuse of boys—"No longitudinal studies examined the causal relationship between abuse and gender role or sexual orientation." There should be such studies. Interestingly, among the proposed reforms the bishops will discuss in Dallas, one promises that "we offer to cooperate with other churches, institutions of learning, and other interested organizations in conducting a major research study in this area"—namely, "the problem of the sexual abuse of children and young people in our society."

Such information would not only be useful to the bishops and the rest of the public in contemplating the matter of deterrence. It might also shed light on human sexuality more generally. In particular, it might help explain the prominence of the theme of man-boy seduction—which I have documented in two essays in these pages—in gay literature, journalism, and culture.[6] It is now over 20 years since gay éminence grise Edmund White observed that "sex with minors" was one of two features of gay life "likely to outrage the straight community" (the other, he believed, was "sex in public places"). In the wake of the priest scandals, a few other gay voices have acknowledged just such a homosexual/heterosexual divide on the question of minors. As a writer for the *Washington Blade* put it with surprising candor, "These cases—where the 'victim' lies somewhere in between childhood and adulthood, and the 'abuser' may or may not also have a gay adult sexual life—prove far murkier than either the Catholic Church or many gay rights advocates seem willing to admit." But no gay writer has sounded a more poignant note than the unnamed man who wrote in a letter posted on Andrew Sullivan's website—which contribution Sullivan deserves credit for publishing: "I must disagree with your disavowal of any homosexual complicity in the Church scandal. . . . Until all queers are able to face the fact that we have created for ourselves a culture that values youth and beauty above all else, and to realize that this obsession creates, in at least some gay men, a deviant and abusive tendency toward sex with minors, we are doomed to continue to create victims as surely as the atrophied Church."

What this letter clarifies is why public gay reaction to the scandals has been an exercise in moral dissonance. It is incoherent to excoriate the Church for its child molesters, as all leading gay newspapers have done, and simultaneously to print an interview with a gay man saying (to take an example from the *Blade*) that "he doesn't think the older men who had sex with him [when he was a child] were ephebophiles or predators. . . . 'I personally hold them completely blameless.'" It is incoherent to denounce offending priests, as just about every gay-activist and activist-friendly source has done—and meanwhile run soft-core personal stories by gay men thanking the priests who allegedly molested *them* as teenagers. And finally, to take a particularly striking example of the same contradiction, it is preposterous to thunder piously against the Church, and on the other hand to hail as a "gay icon" the likes of assassinated Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn—which is exactly what some libertarian gay writers have been insisting upon since his death. Fortuyn's writings in favor of man-boy sex, including but not limited to a column in Holland's largest newsmagazine in praise of the "vision" of a famous convicted pedophile, are a matter of public record.[7] Nor is that record obscure. Those writings have been brought to public attention by several authors in English these last few weeks, among them *National Review*'s Rod Dreher (twice). In fact, precisely because of his soft spot for pederasty, Fortuyn is also mentioned favorably in pro-pedophile publications.

To observe all this is not, of course, to accuse Fortuyn's admirers of sympathizing with pedophilia. But it is to emphasize that for reasons we may never fully understand, on the subject of sex with minors, the dissonance issuing from the gay community is simply deafening. What most other people call "sexual abuse," some significant part of the gay counterculture knows as "initiation." What the criminal law calls a "perpetrator," the

[6] See "Pedophilia Chic," June 17, 1996 (*weeklystandard.com/content/public/articles/000/000/001/333rtjrn.asp*), and "'Pedophilia Chic' Reconsidered," January 1 / January 8, 2001 (*weeklystandard.com/content/public/articles/000/000/001/329pdstm.asp*).

[7] Readers can find the Dutch text at *www.pim-fortuyn.nl* by following the "columns" link to "30-10-1999 De moderne schandpaal." An English translation can be found at *weeklystandard.com/content/public/articles/000/000/001/335zlljl.asp*.



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gay counterculture calls a "troll." And what parents and the rest of the world know as a human child is dubbed in that other world with the unspeakably inhuman designation, "chicken." That dissonance, which will continue in North America even if the Catholic church is razed to the ground tomorrow, is something the bishops should not hesitate to point to as they try to prevent anything like today's crisis from happening again.

No matter what is decided in Dallas or elsewhere by the bishops and the rest of the Catholic hierarchy, some public reappraisal of homosexuality in American life seems very nearly an inevitable consequence of the Church's man-boy sex problem. In following through, we are all called to intellectual humility, and the Catholics among us to spiritual humility as well. For believing Catholics, more than any others, it makes no more sense to be "homophobic" than to be "contracepto-phobic," say, or "fornicato-phobic," or "phobic" of any other group falling short of the Church's rigorous moral demands. The Catholic church teaches compassion towards all mortals, homosexuals very much included. The Catechism, among other Church documents, emphasizes this particular call to charity: "This [homosexual] inclination, which is objectively disordered, constitutes for most a trial."

At the same time, today's ideological sensitivities must not be allowed to trump what ought to be a universal effort to protect the young. Much about human sexuality remains a mystery, and we may never know why men who abuse children do what they do. But if humility is now required of Catholics, so too is backbone. If it takes shutting down certain seminaries to protect boys of the present and future, close them now. If vocations to the priesthood should be so far reduced by stringent screening for abuse victims that American Catholics have to travel 50 miles to Mass, let them drive. And if protecting children means reopening the uncomfortable question of what makes sexual orientation, that too is a sacrifice that everyone should be willing to make. There is more than enough for all of us to do, Catholic and non-Catholic. As John Paul II said, this mission is society-wide. ♦


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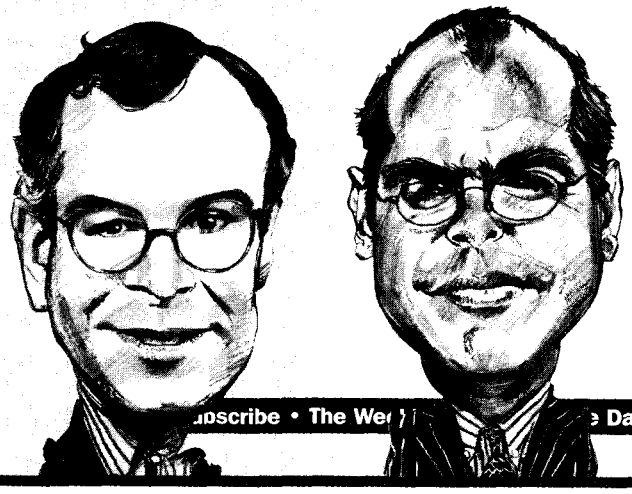

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# And the Lord Said, "Follow Me & I Will Make You Fishers of FULL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT"

Fr. Joseph Nangle of the Franciscan Mission Service seems content that Christ's commission to convert the world is being forgotten. He recently wrote in the liberal Catholic magazine, *St. Anthony Messenger*, about how decades ago he went to Bolivia as a missionary to, as he put it, "work for the 'salvation' of South America" (note the invidious quotation marks around the word *salvation*). Now enlightened, he says that that salvific effort was "misdirected."

When he got to South America, Nangle had his consciousness altered. Liberal guilt set in, and Nangle says that he and his fellow missionaries "began to see mission in an entirely new way." He and his queasy confreres decided to focus on the *social* gospel and do "whatever we could to help people reach their full human development." This social-worker mentality has crippled our missionary endeavor.

Bro. Stephen Glodek of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men recently addressed that organization, saying that "we used to have [certain] standards for [the] credibility [of our mission]," such as "numbers." For Glodek, this way of framing the "question of credibility has haunted all our renewal" efforts since Vatican II. Haunted indeed! For the *number* of brothers and missionaries is way down since Vatican II, so Glodek pooh-poohs numbers.

So, what has the "renewal" of men's religious congregations been all about? Glodek answers: "Thomas Merton put it...succinctly in a Zenlike saying: 'What we have to be is what we are.'" (Wow, dude, like way cool.) Sorry, Bro. Glodek, but Eastern obfuscation won't hide the fact that the course you're on has failed. Contrary to the unsainted Thomas Merton, what you are is not what you "have to be," it's what you've *chosen to be*. Sorry, dude, but Pope John Paul II called for a New Evangelization, and there's a new generation of eager missionaries and evangelizers on the scene with a zeal for souls. Sorry, bucko, but your fishnets have big holes in them, and it's time for your ilk to get out of the way.

Yes, dear reader, we know you've wanted to say that to your stuck-in-the-Sixties priest or that goofy sister who does liturgical dance around the altar. But you wouldn't dare. We understand your pent-up frustration, so we say it for you. (Jesus called his enemies "a brood of vipers" and "sons of Hell." Admittedly, we haven't gone that far.) We are the New Oxford Review, an orthodox Catholic monthly magazine, and we tell the *full* truth even when it makes delicate types "uncomfortable." If you're nauseated by the pablum and milk you're too often served in the name of Catholicism, if you hunger for the red meat and red wine of Catholicism, subscribe today!

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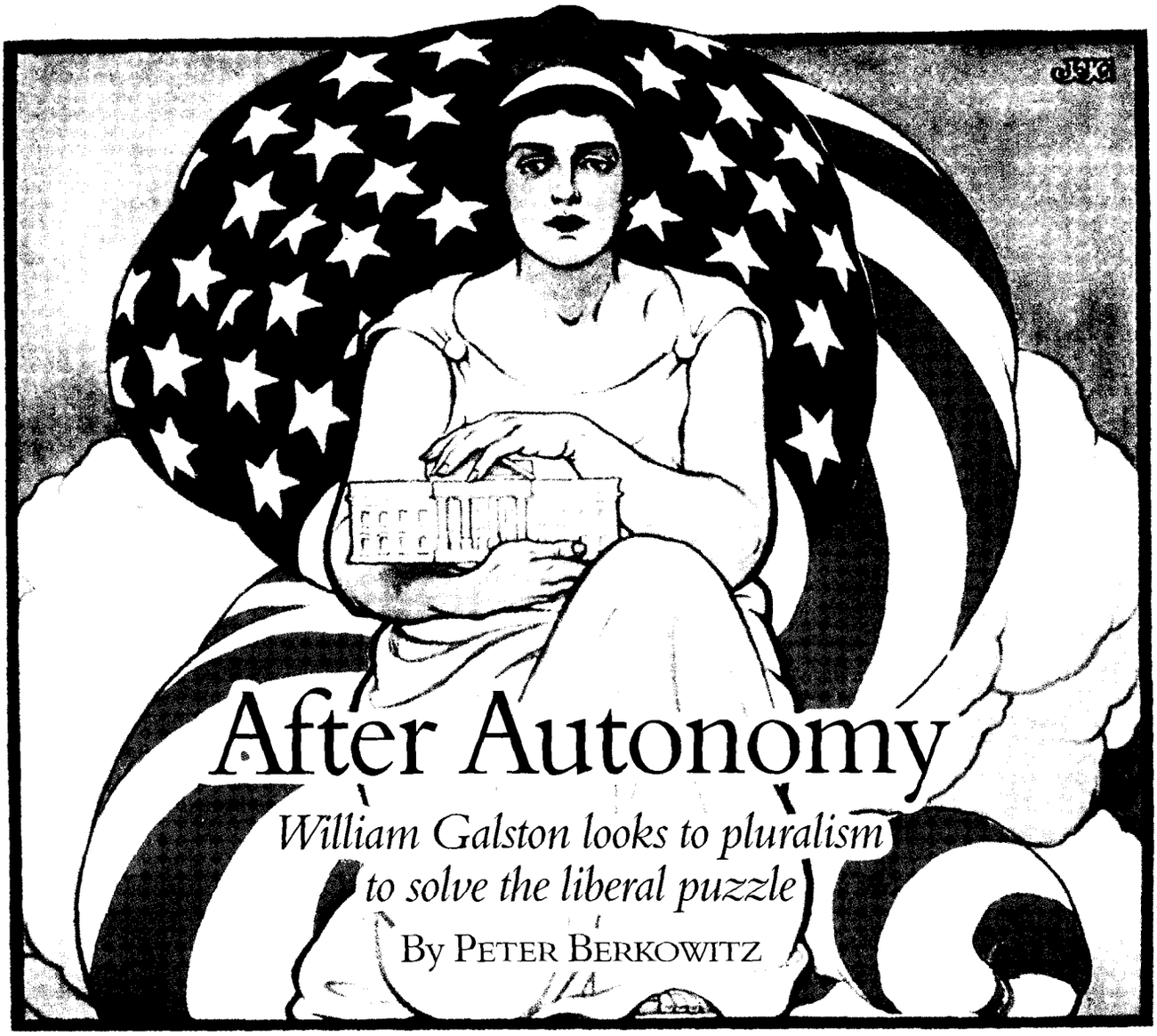

# After Autonomy

## *William Galston looks to pluralism to solve the liberal puzzle*

By Peter Berkowitz

Courtesy: Curtis Publishing.

Among academic liberals and professional political theorists, William Galston is exemplary. In several fine books, he has undertaken extensive engagement with the work of his contemporaries. A professor at the University of Maryland, he is a good citizen of his discipline, bridging the divide between the philosophically and empirically oriented students of politics, regularly attending workshops and conferences, and commenting generously on the work of others. He has long been engaged in national politics, working as John Anderson's speechwriter in 1980, helping found the Democratic Leadership Council in the mid-1980s, and serving as deputy assistant for domestic policy during the first Clinton administration. And now, with his new book *Liberal Pluralism*, he has distilled more than two decades of thinking about liberalism and its implications.

**Liberal Pluralism**
*The Implications of Value Pluralism for Political Theory and Practice*
by William A. Galston
Cambridge University Press, 152 pp., $19

But *Liberal Pluralism*, it must be said, is also marked by the distinctive limitations of academic liberalism and professional political theory—and here, too, Galston is exemplary.

Perhaps the best way to understand *Liberal Pluralism* is to note that it extends an approach Galston systematically laid out in 1991 with a volume called *Liberal Purposes*, where he synthesized a great deal of scholarly writing by academic liberals and their critics (mostly critics of the left). His synthesis was strikingly informed by a teaching he traced back through Tocqueville to classical political philosophy: Every regime—liberal democracy no less than monarchy or aristocracy or, for that matter, the various forms of totalitarianism—inflects the beliefs, practices, and institutions that live under it.

Galston's appreciation of what he called the "regime effect" gave his book an unusual edge. He wrote as an enthusiastic and partisan liberal, confident that government had an indispensable role to play in caring for the poor and vulnerable, yet concerned about the need to guard against liberal democracy's libertine and radically egalitarian tendencies. *Liberal Purposes* stood to academic liberalism as the Democratic

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Leadership Council at the time stood to the rest of the Democratic party. The goal for both was to defend a more centrist vision.

For more than a generation, the term "liberal" among professors of political theory has been reserved for those who toil in the paradigm established by the 1971 publication of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*. Many a career has been made elaborating the doctrines set forth in Rawls's seminal work, which provided a highly abstract justification for a state devoted to protecting certain basic, individual rights while engaging in extensive redistribution of wealth. When Galston wrote *Liberal Purposes*, the only widely available criticism of this Rawlsian liberalism was communitarian—and the communitarian critics took the Rawlsians to task for supposing that individuals are separate and self-sufficient, without intrinsic ties to other individuals or associations, and free of unchosen duties and transcendent moral principles.

Galston believed that the communitarians brought to light genuine shortcomings in Rawlsian liberalism, but he also held that their critique was overdrawn and their conclusions misguided. Yes, the Rawlsians trivialized critical dimensions of moral and political life. Yes, they proclaimed as truths of reason what were actually tendentious views of the state's redistributive role. But, Galston argued, genuine liberalism was not limited to Rawlsian liberalism. Properly conceived, liberalism could give an account of the goods of community and purposes of the state that could meet valid communitarian criticisms while preserving liberalism's core commitments to individual freedom and human equality, which in one way or another most communitarian critics implicitly affirmed.

Indeed, he argued, the liberal tradition itself teaches the importance of virtue. As one might expect from the idea of "regime effect," the virtues that Galston focused on—tolerance, self-restraint, a certain generosity of spirit—were liberal virtues, the virtues that equip liberal citizens to maintain public order, defend liberal institutions, and enjoy freedom's blessings. Because the preservation of a political society that protects individual freedom is an achievement that depends in part on its citizens' character, a liberal state could even enact laws—within limits set by the need to respect individual freedom—that promoted liberal virtues.

Galston was at pains to point out that his approach was not conservative in the sense of defending virtue by appealing to tradition or transcendent authority. The virtue that it was the liberal state's responsibility to promote, he argued, was restricted—the minimum necessary for any sort of decent life in a free society, not the maximum connected to some notion of the best life for a human being. And so, on the basis of what he called "traditional functionalism"—the view that traditional institutions should in some cases be supported by the state, but not because they were traditional, but rather because experience, empirical research, and reason suggested that they served legitimate liberal purposes—Galston advocated public policies friendly to the various associations of civil society in which virtue is nourished. It was this sort of thinking that John DiIulio, the first head of President Bush's Office of Faith-Based Initiatives, brought to his task: It is legitimate for a liberal state to seek ways to help the ill, the poor, and the old, and to the extent that faith-based organizations provide such relief, the state has an interest in assisting their efforts.

*Among the most striking features of* Liberal Pluralism *is the rejection of autonomy as the guiding principle.*

The academy did not give *Liberal Purposes* the attention it deserved. By the time Galston left the White House in 1996, the discipline had moved on. The communitarian challenge had largely been overcome, either, as in Galston's case, by trimming its excesses and incorporating its insights, or by sidestepping and ridiculing it.

Meanwhile, new challenges to academic liberalism's hegemony had arisen. Chief among them was multiculturalism, which insisted that in the United States separate and distinct cultures are the fundamental constituents of political society, and that the state has an obligation to show equal respect and concern toward each. Typically, multiculturalists were obscure concerning just what the moral bases of this equal respect and concern were. And just what were its moral limits. In fact, as with the communitarians before them, what was valid in the multiculturalists' critique—understanding and respecting an individual involves understanding the culture in which he lives—had its roots in the liberalism they wished to repudiate.

The rise of the multicultural critique coincided with a resurgence of liberal theory. In 1993 John Rawls published *Political Liberalism*, which introduced the "idea of public reason." It was a bit unclear whether the purpose of this public reason was to set ground rules for public debate or to furnish the premises from which all legitimate perspectives allowed into the public debate must be derived. Either way, it was enthusiastically embraced by many academic liberals—who, to suggest that they were not theorizers from on high but rather devoted to give and take with their fellow citizens, began to call themselves "deliberative democrats." Seen as offering a route from theory to the nitty-gritty of public policy, the idea of public reason inspired enthusiasts to flood the discipline with scholarly efforts to hone it and apply it and prove that professors of political theory could be practical. In what was viewed by its proponents as confirmation of its universality—and by its critics as a thoroughly predictable refutation of its pretensions to impartiality—the idea of public reason almost always seemed to come down on the side of left-liberal policy preferences.



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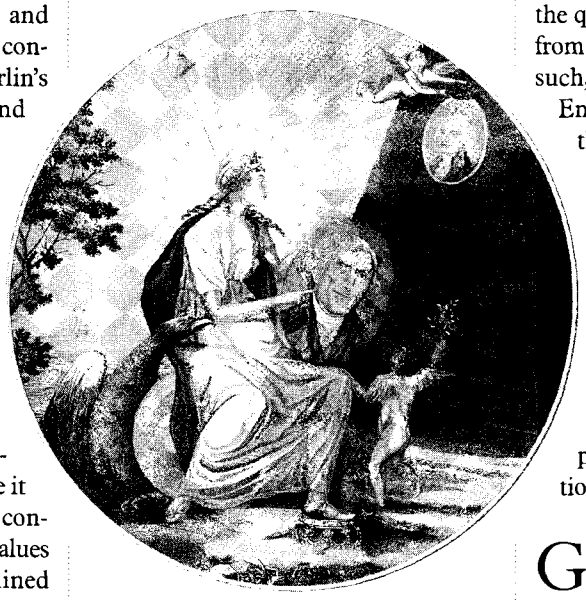
Caught between the moralistic relativism of the multiculturalists and the authoritarian liberalism of the deliberative democrats, academic liberalism by the late 1990s was once again in need of a sympathetic and synthesizing perspective, one that could counter its excesses as well as those of its critics. To a significant extent, William Galston's book succeeds in providing it.

In the decade that separated the publication of his old *Liberal Purposes* and his new *Liberal Pluralism*, Galston seems to have discovered Isaiah Berlin. Indeed, though slim, schematic, and suggestive rather than systematic, *Liberal Pluralism* goes beyond the argument of the earlier book by defending and elaborating the implications for contemporary liberalism of two of Berlin's master-ideas: "value pluralism" and "negative liberty."

Value pluralism, the first pillar of Galston's liberalism, describes "a world in which fundamental values are plural, conflicting, incommensurable in theory, and uncombinable in practice." It opposes monism, the claim that values are subject to a common measure or can be ranked in a hierarchy. But value pluralism, Galston insists, is not relativism: While it affirms that fundamental values conflict, it also maintains that which values are fundamental can be determined objectively. This is a big claim. In fact, Galston rejects half-hearted and mealy-mouthed interpretations of value pluralism, insisting that it gives expression to "the basic structure of the moral world we actually inhabit." As such, it "is an assertion of philosophical truth."

Like Berlin, Galston invokes value pluralism against both the liberals and the critics of liberalism who believe the purpose of politics is to promote a best form of human existence. On the one hand, Berlin opposed value pluralism to the liberal Enlightenment monism that held there is a right way to live which reason can know and the state should enforce. On the other hand, Berlin also opposed value pluralism to the anti-liberal counter-Enlightenment forms of monism that were, according to Berlin, no less eager to set the power of the state behind a single conception of a fitting human life. Though his targets are much less grand and his critical tone not at all grandiose, Galston largely agrees with Berlin that monisms of all sorts—liberal as well as non-liberal—menace human liberty.

The doctrine of negative liberty is the second pillar of Galston's liberalism. Following Berlin, he defines it as "the capacity of individuals, unimpeded by external coercion or constraint, to choose for themselves among competing conceptions of good or valuable lives." The chief threats to liberty, in this sense, are basic and nearly universally understood: physical imprisonment, material shackles, and exercises of force that directly threaten life and limb.



Berlin set the idea of negative liberty in opposition not so much to tyranny, or tyranny pure and simple, as to the idea of positive liberty. This alternative interpretation of liberty—which Berlin found in highly developed and fateful form in Rousseau, Hegel, and Marx—proclaimed that freedom could be achieved only in and through a particular kind of life. From the point of view of positive liberty, individuals whose lives are rooted in ignorance, prejudice, or distorted desire are really unfree and must be emancipated by the state. Berlin did not deny that human beings can become slaves to ignorance or prejudice or desire. But enduring such harm was preferable to the monstrous evils committed since the Enlightenment by states in the effort to force individuals to be free.

In *Liberal Pluralism*, Galston insists that value pluralism and negative liberty are complementary—and that the liberal pluralism they combine to form has definite consequences for political theory (on which he focuses in the first part of his book) and public policy (to which he turns in the second part).

Among the most striking features of *Liberal Pluralism* is the rejection of autonomy as the guiding principle of liberalism. Galston defines autonomy as the quest for "liberation through reason from externally imposed authority." As such, it is a form of liberal monism. Encouraged by popular culture and the educational establishment, an autonomous life is one in which the individual submits all questions to his own reason and regards the moral framework under which he lives as deriving its legitimacy from the fact of his having chosen it. Many academic liberals believe that the liberal state has a duty to form children, particularly through public education, into autonomous individuals.

Galston demurs. It's not that he fails to register the appeal of autonomy. It's rather that he denies—as a value pluralist—that there is a single choiceworthy way of life, even the one that elevates autonomous choosing. And he recognizes the appeal of other ways of life, including those of devotion and duty. Moreover, making it a matter of educational policy to force all children to meet the requirements of autonomy, as many academic liberals do, violates the doctrine of negative liberty by putting the coercive power of the state behind a single conception of human flourishing.

Instead of promoting autonomy through public policy, Galston would have academic liberals return to an older liberal purpose: the protection of diversity, which has its historical roots in what Galston calls the "post-Refor-



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mation project." Observing that liberalism arose in the seventeenth century as a response to the devastating European wars of religion, he suggests that early liberalism represented a theoretical justification for people to stop killing one another over religious differences. The aim was to find a way to live together in peace, not to install an alternative ideal to rule over all. This liberalism suggested sturdy principles—individual freedom and human equality, toleration, separation of church and state—for the achievement of that peace. Only later, in the extraordinary self-assurance of the Enlightenment, did the protection of autonomous choice supplant the protection of diverse beliefs and ways of life as the guiding purpose of liberal politics. We are the heirs of both purposes.

Indeed, many of our current public-policy debates can be seen as a contest between the "post-Reformation project" and the "Enlightenment impulse." This is particularly true of our debates about public education. Nonetheless, Galston argues, certain assumptions have nearly universal support in this country and define the terms in which debate about education actually takes place. They are:

> The government has the right (and perhaps the duty) to require the education of all children up through the midteens and to regulate some basic features of their education. Parents bear principal responsibility for seeing to it that their children meet this requirement, but they have the right to choose among a wide range of options for meeting it. While government has the right to tax all its citizens to finance and operate a system of public schools open to all, it cannot create a public school monopoly that prevents parents from sending their children to nonpublic schools.

In these nearly universally accepted assumptions are three sets of competing interests: the child's interest in normal development; the state's interest in forming citizens who can function within and maintain its core institutions; and parents' interest in rearing their children in a manner that gives expression to the parents' fundamental beliefs. And the question is how to reconcile them.

Allegory of Reason conferring honor upon Liberty and Equality. Previous Page: Engraving of Jefferson. Both: Art Resource.

Galston frames his discussion in terms of two Supreme Court cases that have stimulated much commentary by academic liberals. In 1971 in *Wisconsin* v. *Yoder*, the Supreme Court ruled that Amish parents may, consistent with their beliefs about the requirements of a devout life, remove their children from high school at age fourteen, two years before Wisconsin law permitted. More recently, in 1987 in *Mozert* v. *Hawkins County Board of Education*, the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that fundamentalist Christian parents could not have their children exempted from using textbooks that conflicted with the parents' views about creation and evolution.

According to the strand of academic liberalism that believes that it is the state's purpose to promote autonomy, *Yoder* was wrongly decided and *Mozert* was rightly decided. Galston thinks exactly the reverse: *Yoder* was right and *Mozert* wrong. Because one of its chief purposes is to protect diversity, a liberal state, he argues, should give the widest scope to individuals to live in accordance with their beliefs. This "expressive liberty" includes the liberty of parents to rear their children by the beliefs they hold dear. Of course, children are not their parents' property, and so Galston's liberal pluralism, like other liberalisms, requires the state to protect children against parental abuse. But neither are children creatures of the state, a truth that Galston's liberal pluralism, more alive to the diversity of moral authority, emphasizes against the tendency of liberalisms that want the state to wrest control from parents and force children to be free.

Galston is acutely aware that public schools help prepare students for citizenship. But he holds a less sweeping view of what schools should seek to accomplish, and a thinner conception of citizenship, than that espoused by the deliberative democrats. It is not that Galston underestimates what schooling can provide, but rather that he appreciates that the preponderance of virtue is learned in the family. Similarly, it is not because he takes politics lightly that he circumscribes the claims of citizenship, but because he takes seriously the claims made on us by non-political life.

Galston's liberal pluralism will prove unsatisfying to moralists on the left and the right. How could it not? It emphasizes the necessity in politics for trade-offs and compromises. It counsels caution and restraint wherever a question is raised of government action infringing on individual liberty. And it is committed to "afford maximum feasible space for the enactment of individual and group differences."

These moralists may well ask Galston why he is so sure that there is no greatest good or authoritative path to salvation. But they will not find answers in *Liberal Pluralism*. Although he aims to make a contribution to political *theory*, Galston suppresses the question of metaphysics by appealing to our sentiments about moral diversity and our "concrete experience" of the "moral world."

He offers, however, little in the way of philosophical argument that connects the rest of the world to what he claims to *know* is true about the "moral world." The observation that people hold conflicting values does little to establish the validity of what they hold—and nothing to dispense with the claims of the monists who champion a single greatest good. Nor does it dispose of the challenge of the nihilists, who believe that



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behind all values lies the human lust for mastery.

Moreover, Galston downplays liberalism's internal tensions. He insists, for example, that value pluralism is not relativism and is thus capable of ranking some goods and ways of life. But he provides no principled way of doing so. So, too, in the effort to give diversity its due, he slights the claims of autonomy within the liberal tradition. He suggests that the principle of autonomy and the principle of diversity within the liberal tradition can be neatly separated. But this is not so. Both are rooted in the political implications of liberalism's fundamental moral premise, the natural freedom and equality of all. As Locke, Kant, and Mill all saw, education for liberty involves both learning to think for oneself (which pushes us to promote the ideal of autonomy for everyone) and learning to be tolerant (which forces us to resist the state's establishment of autonomy as an ideal for everybody).

Similarly, Galston never comes to grips with the relation between value pluralism and the special status that liberalism assigns to individual freedom and human equality. In fact, nothing follows for politics from value pluralism. It is only when value pluralism is combined with some other idea—like individual rights or the dignity of the individual—that one person has a moral reason to refrain from pursuing his own ends by trampling over other people's. But if, as value pluralism teaches, there is no common measure or comprehensive hierarchy, then what grounds do we have for believing in the primacy which all liberalism, liberal pluralism not excepting, must give to individual rights or the dignity of the individual?

Finally, Galston all but ignores the self-subverting forces unleashed by liberalism. The nub of the problem, and an implication of the "regime effect" that he overlooks, is that freedom is a fertile breeding ground for some of the vices—relativism, narcissism, license—that undermine free institutions.

To address these sorts of questions, one must go beyond the confines of current academic liberalism and study the greatest students of the liberal tradition, those who have explored it from a perspective that was not entirely exhausted or defined by the liberal tradition. These were thinkers who undertook profound explorations of liberalism's dependence on metaphysics, its internal tensions, and its weaknesses and unwise tendencies. Although Galston does not display an interest in it, the necessity of such study was also one of Berlin's master ideas. Indeed, Berlin devoted a large portion of his career to recovering and sympathetically expounding the thought of liberalism's counter-Enlightenment critics.

For everyone today, liberalism colors what we say and do, feel and think, detest and desire. It does not determine our politics, but it does furnish—for both the right and the left—moral premises, orienting principles, and governing aspirations. It may not represent the whole truth about us but it does embody a weighty and indispensable truth. Like all great traditions of political thought and practice, it is prone to overreaching. The challenge, however, is not to escape it or overthrow it but to reform it and conserve it. ♦

# Things Fall Apart

*John Lukacs reads the signs of the times.*

**BY MATTHEW ROSE**

An example of the worst type of modern philosophical question is "Are human beings different from meat?" For those among us who have never been invited into Socratic dialogue by, say, a porterhouse, the question is dumb in ways rarely thought possible before.

And yet the question reveals the degree to which modern thought has cultivated a disastrous knack for self-deception. Though sometimes entertaining, modern philosophy cannibalizes the values it once sought to foster. Previous generations would not have been surprised that the effort to exalt human dignity, freedom, and purpose without traditional religious supports has led to self-mutilating moral inversions such as: The only truth is that there is no truth; freedom is found in totalitarian obedience; the most authentic art shows beauty's arbitrariness; and so on. In this inside-out world, "Are human beings different from meat?" is the headiest of questions.

**At the End of an Age**
by John Lukacs
Yale University Press, 240 pp., $22.95

*Matthew Rose is an editorial assistant at* First Things.

In his latest book, *At the End of an Age*, John Lukacs looks to find the reasons for this confusion. Continuing a set of "meta" questions explored in *Historical Consciousness*, *Confessions of an Original Sinner*, and *The Passing of the Modern Age*, Lukacs here asks about the philosophical underpinnings of science and history. In a series of essays on the nature of knowledge, Lukacs applies his unconnable good sense to the weighty question of man's place in the universe.

With typical bluntness, Lukacs begins by stating that we are standing at the end of an age that began some five hundred years ago. The "Bourgeois Age"—with its uncritical beliefs in progress, domestic life, the nation-state, and the individual—is at the brink of exhaustion. Lukacs's outlook is unabashedly "declinist," and brings to mind his close friend Jacques Barzun, whose recent *From Dawn to Decadence* also bid adieu to our lingering bourgeois era. For both men, it is very late in the day.

Yet Lukacs has set his sights on something quite different, specifically a "new understanding of consciousness



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itself" that this upheaval will require. He quotes Owen Barfield's claim that we need to rethink "thinking itself" and that knowledge must be "grasped as something substantial to the being of man, as an 'existential encounter.'" *At the End of an Age* is not a meek book.

To bring about this "encounter," Lukacs works to demolish the philosophical folly of modernity, which he calls, perhaps too crudely, "objectivism." This ideology asserts that reality itself is defined by external, material facts that can be empirically discerned and logically ordered only by an impassive observer. Objectivism has taken on wildly different forms in the hard and soft sciences, ranging from the search for "The Key to All Mythologies" to Voltaire's clockwork universe to Harvard biologist E.O. Wilson's dream of a one-page cosmic instruction manual. It, however, remains united by an agreed-upon procedure for finding the truths of man and nature, that is, by observing the canons of scientific inquiry.

In charting the triumph of objectivism, Lukacs highlights Descartes's separation of the observer from observed objects and Newton's belief in a mechanical world of cause and effect. What later came to be called the "Enlightenment project" cemented these ideas together. The resulting notion holds that the only proper subject of human inquiry lay in an observer-independent reality—the "world out there" considered apart from human consciousness. This overturned the Western intellectual tradition by setting as a standard for both historical and scientific knowledge the absolute separation of man from what he is studying.

Lukacs wisely fastens upon the most disastrous and self-refuting mistake of objectivism. Despite its bold, even brash, humanistic concerns, objectivism came to view mankind as just another detached, passive, inert product of the universe. By eliminating man's central and constitutive role in the act of knowing, it reduced man himself to cosmic folderol. Man is at the center of the universe, objectivism concluded, only in the way a drain is at the center of a sink: It's where the rubbish gathers.

The problem with this is very basic, and contains two related mistakes. First, it overlooks the fact that the dream of attaining perfect knowledge is always hindered by the unhappy fact that we human beings, mysterious and quite fallible, are charged with the task. Second, the idea that humans could leverage themselves out of the center of the universe is maddeningly illogical.

Etymology shows us how self-contradictory this idea is from the start. As Lukacs notes, in Greek the word for truth, *aletheia*, also means "not forgetting," and in English and other Germanic languages "world" comes from

Yale University Press

*wer* + *weld*, meaning "man-age" or "age of man." Both imply the self-evident truth that advances in knowledge are unavoidably the story of human history, human imagination, human creation, and the product of human beliefs, feelings, and wills. "There is no such thing as an entirely independent, isolated brute fact. Any fact is inseparable from *our* association of it with another fact and our statement of it."

Since we are unable to jump out of our skin, knowledge will always be emphatically anthropocentric. Lukacs writes: "The known and visible and measurable conditions of the universe are not *anterior* but *consequent* to our existence and to our consciousness. The universe is such as it is because in the center of it there exist conscious and participant people who can see it, explore it, study it."

Lukacs's argument is in many ways a restatement of the late Oxford philosopher of science Michael Polanyi's seminal book *Personal Knowledge* (1958). This astonishing and too-often overlooked work opened with the statement that man's repeated attempt to place himself on the periphery of the cosmos was a self-refuting effort: "As human beings, we must inevitably see the universe from a centre lying within ourselves. . . . Any attempt to eliminate our human perspective from our picture of the world must lead to absurdity. . . . In a literal sense, therefore, the new Copernican system was as anthropocentric as the Ptolemaic view, the difference being merely that it preferred to satisfy a different human affection." Polanyi could have mentioned the Darwinian perspective as well: They're anthropocentric all the way down.

Lukacs and Polanyi join the Jewish and Christian theological traditions in teaching that human activity issues from, and depends on, a religious or "pre-reflective" understanding of the nature of reality. Secular philosophers of mind today say we draw upon a "life-world" or "network," which only dresses up Pascal's statement that we believe and understand vastly more than we know. The lesson is the same: We have explicit knowledge of only a fraction of what we implicitly understand, and often what we know is of little or no use compared to what we only dimly believe, hope for, and grapple towards.

Agree or disagree with Lukacs's remarkable thesis—and there is certainly much to haggle with—the implications of denying it are not academic. Indeed, Lukacs could have turned his perfect ear for bad notes to the politics of anti-humanism. For the story of man's misguided and mangled attempts to displace himself from the center of the universe has been shadowed by the history of man's repeated degradation at his own hands. That the two go together is not at all coincidental: If man is a plastic plaything of marginal cosmic concern, then what reason can there be to love or respect him?

In the anti-human systems of Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud in their day, as in



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those of Foucault, Richard Rorty, and Peter Singer in ours, man's ill-fated attempts to erase himself can be seen. Each says that over two millennia of human reflection have made it possible to discard the question "What is man?" For them, the question is meaningless and unanswerable because there is no such thing as man in any enduring sense. But their attempts will fail, as every word that falls from their lips disproves them. Less cunning, but still important, is the degree to which leftist politics generally is still infected by this ideology. To this day, the liberal worldview continues to believe that if only properly enlightened overseers could be entrusted with the bureaucratic-scientific apparatus, the world could be governed almost flawlessly. Their "man" is a trainable trifle.

Lukacs is a Catholic, and knows that in his church he will find his deepest support. In a 1968 letter from Cardinal Karol Wojtyla to French Jesuit theologian Henri de Lubac, the future pope took aim at the signature contribution of modernity to history—the annihilation of the human person. The very same crusade lies near to the heart of Lukacs's work. Wojtyla could have been speaking for Lukacs when he wrote:

> [My work is devoted] to the metaphysical sense and mystery of the *person*. It seems to me that the debate today is being played out on that level. The evil of our times consists in the first place in a kind of degradation, indeed in a pulverization, of the fundamental uniqueness of each human person. This evil is even more of the metaphysical order than of the moral order. To this disintegration planned at times by atheistic ideologies we must oppose, rather than sterile polemics, a kind of "recapitulation" of the inviolable mystery of the person.

*At the End of an Age* quietly inches towards the realization that with self-knowledge comes a faint awareness of God-knowledge. Thus it is proper that Lukacs closes with a confession of pious unknowingness: "Such an insistence on the centrality, and on the uniqueness, of human beings is a statement not of arrogance but of its very contrary, perhaps even of humility: a recognition of the inevitable limitations of mankind." ♦

# Sing-Along

*The American popular song is the most flexible form ever put to music.* BY JOHN PODHORETZ

**Stardust Melodies**
*A Biography of Twelve of America's Most Popular Songs*
by Will Friedwald
Pantheon, 432 pp., $27.50

The American popular song was an amateur's game before the twentieth century. The only American artist to become well known exclusively as the author of lively and memorable secular ditties was Stephen Foster, who made his reputation in the 1850s. The first "hit song" as we understand the term was 1892's "After the Ball." But while we know the name of that ballad's lyricist, Charles Harris, we don't even know who wrote the music.

Fifty years later, a gigantic business built on the foundation of the American popular song had grown up where once there had been nothing. The anonymous songwriters were no more. In their place were composers and lyricists as famous as the writers and poets of their day: Irving Berlin, Ira and George Gershwin, Richard Rodgers, Lorenz Hart, Jerome Kern, P.G. Wodehouse, Cole Porter, Duke Ellington, Hoagy Carmichael, Louis Armstrong. The music industry in the United States has always been characterized by dirty dealing, blackmail, and intellectual theft. It's also been one of the great glories of the modern age, an incredibly happy accident.

The American popular song is a unique mélange of music and lyric that attempts to embody an emotion, usually in no longer than four minutes. It's a cultural melting pot with elements of opera, operetta, symphonic music, chamber music, Appalachian folk, jazz, and blues. And it is unique among musical forms, in that the words are nearly as important as the tune.

The form as we know it could not have emerged without the world-changing technological advances at the outset of the twentieth century. Just as Henry Ford both used and revolutionized modern technology by devising the means for the mass production of automobiles, popular music both used and revolutionized technology by harnessing it for the mass production of entertainment. The creation of a market for popular music led to an amazingly rapid cross-fertilization of genres, styles, and sounds across the country and around the world (there was even a Hawaiian music craze in the 1920s). Racial, cultural, and linguistic barriers were breached as well. The fact that musicians could travel easily around the country meant that their musical innovations could travel as well. The rise of radio and recorded music shrank cultural and geographic distances still further.

The industry made money in part by selling sheet music and phonograph records and in part by copyrighting material written for Broadway and Hollywood. The marketers were the singers and big bands that performed the songs, who were among the first humans to be called "stars": Bing Crosby, Paul Whiteman, Rudy Vallee, Al Jolson, and Louis Armstrong (again). They all influenced one another. Gary Giddins, Crosby's biographer, explains that Bing was the first performer to understand the revolutionary effect the microphone was going to have—how it would allow singers to convey a new kind of intimate mood and connection

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to their listeners. Louis Armstrong taught Crosby about syncopation. Whiteman popularized the brassy, drummy sound that distinguishes modern American music from the string-dominated, reed-heavy orchestrations of the nineteenth century.

The artists were malleable, the medium was malleable, and the audience was interested in new sounds and new approaches. In the brilliant opening paragraphs of his new book, *Stardust Melodies*, Will Friedwald makes an entirely original observation. "The classic American song is the most flexible form of music," he writes. It's the only kind of music we know of that you can play "in any tempo, in any time signature, in any style. The American popular song is like a car full of clowns at the circus: from the outside it looks small and unassuming, yet you can't believe how much is contained inside."

Indeed, when you listen to the recordings of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, you cannot help but notice that the artists of the day were basically performing the same material. Frank Sinatra did Cole Porter's "Have You Met Miss Jones"—but so did Ella Fitzgerald, Nat King Cole, Sarah Vaughan, Dinah Washington, and any number of jazz musicians. There are several songs Sinatra recorded three or four times in the course of his fifty-year career, and those recordings sound entirely different.

That is the subject of Friedwald's book, which is subtitled "A Biography of Twelve of America's Most Popular Songs." Friedwald devotes a chapter each to these songs, which include "St. Louis Blues," "I Got Rhythm," "As Time Goes By," "Night and Day," "Summertime," "My Funny Valentine," and "Stardust," from which he derives his title. This is an inspired conceit. The songs he has chosen are all interesting and to some extent unusual ("Stardust," for example, doesn't rhyme and has no repeating refrain). They have all been recorded many times in many ways, and their histories offer unassailable evidence of Friedwald's signal observation.

Both: Bettmann / CORBIS

*Bing Crosby croons and Louis Armstrong swings.*

Sometimes a good point is a wonderful starting place for a book. Sometimes, however, a good point only needs a few paragraphs. Alas, *Stardust Melodies* is an example of a book that would have been much better as a 1,500-word article, because in the end, Friedwald has nothing much of interest to say about the songs. The twelve chapters are really just long and exhaustive encyclopedia entries, when they ought to be essays that place the songs in a wider cultural and social context. Every now and then he offers a fascinating nugget of information, like the fact that "Body and Soul" is "probably the most-played melody in all of jazz." But those nuggets are buried in acres of infertile and charmless soil. Friedwald goes into great musicological detail about the structure of the melodic lines in ways that are very nearly incomprehensible to someone who has not studied musical theory. Once he finishes with that, he then offers up endless descriptions of the various recordings the songs have spawned.

*Stardust Melodies* is yet another sad proof of the witty adage (attributed variously to Elvis Costello, Frank Zappa, and Martin Mull) that "writing about music is like dancing about architecture." Friedwald errs in large measure because he spends so much energy on explaining the music, which doesn't really lend itself to explanation, and so little on the lyrics. This is appropriate in the study of classical music and opera, but such an approach suggests a fundamental misunderstanding of the American popular song.

The quality that makes the American popular song so durable has a great deal to do with the debt it owes to the folk-song tradition. As the *American History and Encyclopedia of Music*, published in 1910, memorably put it, a popular song "must be of a kind that can be easily learned and readily recalled. The music need not be trifling or trivial, but it must be simple. . . . The words must contain some sentiment common in appeal to all, sentiment touching the home, love, joy or sorrow; or the theme may be some subject which at the time is agitating the public mind. The melody must be singable and the rhythm infectious."

Like a folk song, a great popular song encourages you to sing along—even demands it. You can only sing along because the words allow you to use your own voice as an instrument, and you will only sing along when you can remember the words. This mysterious alchemy is the secret behind the enduring power of the American pop songbook. ♦



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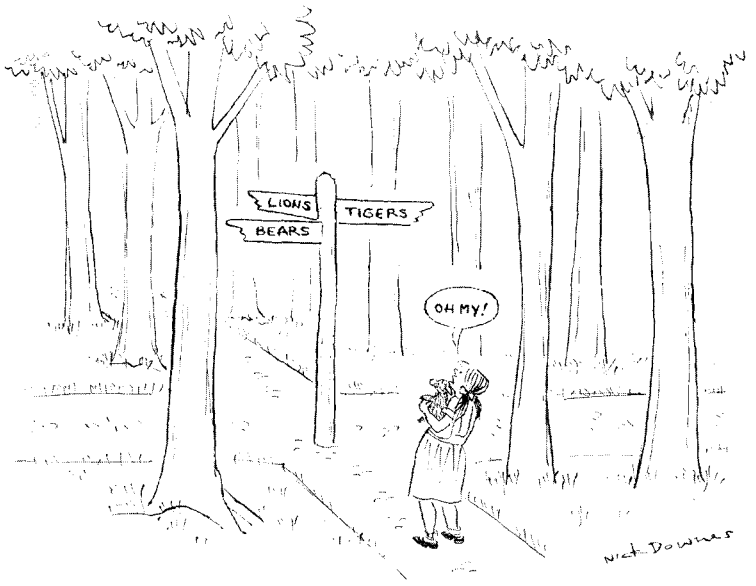


## Carter's Bank Shot

Stephen L. Carter is a well-known Yale law professor, African-American moderate, and author of such books as *The Culture of Disbelief*. He's also written a new mystery/thriller called *The Emperor of Ocean Park* (Knopf, 657, $26.95). Carter is used to receiving flattering praise, and it's got to be a shock for him to read the first reviews now coming in. The *New York Times*'s Michiko Kakutani declared Carter's "thrilleresque narrative convolutions" are "so clichéd and bogus that they verge perilously close to parody." David Gates in *Newsweek* howled that the book "is hung about with kick-me signs that betray the amateur." The only real mystery in this mystery tale, Gates concluded, is why Knopf paid Carter a $4.2 million advance.

This is where we get down to the problem. *The Emperor of Ocean Park* isn't what anyone would call a great book. It could stand being cut in half, the plot could use serious doctoring, and its prose could take some touch-up work. But that's all about par for mystery/thrillers—try running a little highbrow criticism over a Tom Clancy or a Robert Ludlum novel, for example. What's got the book world worked up is that Carter got so much money for this first effort. It does seem a little extravagant, but if it sells, he'll get as much for the next one. ♦

## Books in Brief

***C.L.R. James: A Life* by Farrukh Dhondy (Pantheon, 304 pp., $24).** Unless you were a Trotskyite or are interested in the sport of cricket, this confusing and amateurishly produced biography of a Trinidadian intellectual may not be to your taste. Still, I found the story of Cyril Lionel Robert James fascinating. An anti-colonialist Trotskyite cricketer who preferred Britain to his native Trinidad, James (who died in 1989 at the age of 88) was a multi-faceted West Indian personality: historian, philosopher, black liberationist, novelist, literary critic, political activist, Anglophile, Bardolater, and much-married womanizer. He opposed black nationalism, black separatism, and, above all, Stalinism—predicting in 1983 that the Polish revolt begun in Gdansk "would end in Leningrad and Moscow."

By then, of course, he had long given up his Trotskyite creed, although not his Marxism. But James's Trotskyite past (he broke away in the early 1950s) got him into trouble during the McCarthy era, when *World Revolution*, a book he wrote in his Trotskyite interlude, was defined as subversive. Having lived in America since 1938, long overstaying his visa, James was deported. During a six-month stay on Ellis Island in 1953, he wrote a long essay on Herman Melville called "Mariners, Renegades and Castaways." In *Moby-Dick* James found, writes Dhondy, "the great allegory for America itself, for the reign of capitalism in its final stage of totalitarian obsession." After literature, James's real passion was cricket, a game that for him was as much allegory as sport. As a cricket correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*, James once compared cricket to the ancient Greeks' Olympics. As the Trinidadian poet Derek Walcott put it, James loved cricket "not because it is a sport but because he has found in it all the decencies required for a culture."

Why James became a Trotskyite revolutionary remains something of a mystery, even to his biographer. James was everything a would-be leader of workers and sharecroppers should not have been. He loved American movies, to which his *Moby-Dick* verdict apparently did not apply. According to Dhondy, James "fell for the drama of *Gone with the Wind*."

True, as an intellectual, he dutifully wrote about Sergei Eisenstein and Charlie Chaplin as representatives of "the new art forms of the century. But in his heart he wasn't for Eisenstein at all. He was for Clark Gable." When James advised a London assembly of black activists in the 1980s to see an art-house revival of D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*, members of his audience objected, saying the film was racist and glorified the Ku Klux Klan. James replied—rather cynically—"I would recommend you go see it in the morning and picket in the afternoon."

—*Arnold Beichman*



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**The U.S. government hopes to catch terrorists by having foreign visitors register with the federal government upon entry.**

***—News item***

# Parody

## Non-Racial Profiling Registration Form For New Visitors

**Department of Homeland Security**
Tom Ridge, Director of Budgetary and Statutory Authority

1. Name (check one)*

❑ Abdullah ❑ Mohammed ❑ Ali ❑ Saddam ❑ Osama ❑ Yasser

**If none of the above, you may toss out form, and Welcome to America!*

2. Are you a terrorist?

❑ Yes ❑ No

3. The U.S. government does not discriminate on the basis of race, ethnicity, or creed, but do you by any chance have swarthy skin, a bushy black mustache, and a remarkable fondness for hummus?

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ What's hummus?*

**If you check this, Welcome to America!*

4. While in America you hope to become:

❑ Rich ❑ Well educated ❑ A member of B'nai B'rith ❑ A martyr

5. The person you'd most like to meet in the United States is:

❑ Julia Roberts ❑ Michael Jordan ❑ Sirhan Sirhan

6. Are you sure you are not a terrorist?

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Undecided

7. If you met Elton John you would:

❑ Ask for an autograph ❑ Show him your poetry ❑ Stone him to death

8. If you changed your mind and decided to become a terrorist, would you come in and fill out another form?

❑ Yes ❑ No



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# The Challenges of Charter Schools

**Chester E. Finn Jr. is a distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; and president, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.**

Charter schools are now ten years old, and the movement is still spreading. About 2,400 charter schools have been operating in 2001–2002. A handful of cities now find 15–20 percent of their kids enrolled in charters. Yet **some of the wind is going out of the charter schools' sails.** Six challenges are paramount.

First, we see too little leadership in the charter movement. The concept of charter schools was dismissed at the last national education summit on October 9–10, 2001, in New York. The Bush White House rarely mentions charters. Few governors tarry long on this subject—and many admit to frustration over "bad apples" in the charter barrel. There's no coherent national voice explaining this reform idea to Congress, the media, or other educators.

Second, although not large, the bad-apple problem is easily exploited by critics. Most states have a few charters that never should have been allowed to start and a few more that cannot sustain the pace. What to do? Too many states—instead of promptly replacing hapless schools with better ones—are slowing the whole charter enterprise and putting bureaucrats in charge of it. Because the top concern of bureaucrats is to fend off future problems, the red tape piles up.

Third, even without added rules and regulations, it is hard to start a charter school. The *New York Times* recently recounted an unsuccessful three-year effort by would-be charter school founders in the South Bronx, whose dream of starting an arts-oriented charter was stymied by state and city bureaucrats, facility woes, and a lack of start-up funds.

Fourth, charter enemies are relentless. Their favorite strategies are to keep numerical caps in place on the grounds that "this risky experiment hasn't proven itself" while persuading policymakers (in the name of "ensuring accountability" or "leveling the playing field") that charters must be subject to ever more of the same requirements as regular public schools.

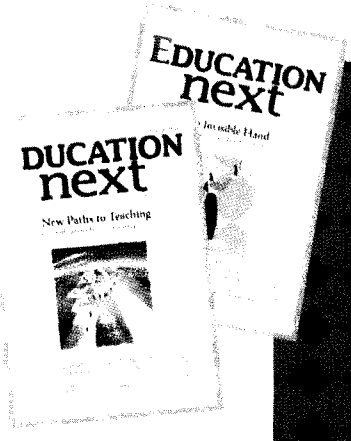
Fifth, charter advocates have not been smart enough about accountability, probably because they're split on the subject. We find libertarians insisting that the marketplace is a sufficient accountability mechanism; dyed-in-the-wool public educators being swayed by "level playing field" claims even though responding to such claims often brings stultifying red tape; and people resisting state standards and tests for the same reasons that other educators resist them.

Finally, **the charter movement itself cannot decide whether it is a trade association obliged to defend every school that wears the charter label or an education reform movement responsible for ensuring that only good schools are so labeled.**

These challenges are worth meeting. The promise of charter schools remains bright. The *National Journal*'s Jonathan Rauch recently profiled Nueva Esperanza Academy, a charter school serving Philadelphia's Latino community and one of as many as fifty such schools being developed by the National Council of La Raza. The academy is bringing low-income high school dropouts back into education. The school's name means "New Hope," which is how many charter advocates see their movement. But hope alone won't get it successfully through another ten years.

— *Chester E. Finn Jr.*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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